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## THE PROBLEM OF THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY

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The offerings of sociology departments in American colleges and universities reflect both the youth of the science and its diversified origin. Having no place in the curriculum of American colleges and universities until the last decade of the nineteenth century, sociology as a subject of instruction is still well under fifty years of age. It began without textbooks and without any defined content. It even began, in many institutions, with the opposition or thinly concealed scorn of its nearest neighbors in the social sciences.

That it has attained its present standing in the curricula of American institutions of higher learning is a tribute not only to the vigor of the thinking of its early exponents, but also to the evident need for a point of view and an emphasis that, without it, appears to be lacking in the offerings of an institution of higher learning. The staunchest disciples of the fathers of American sociology would doubtless agree that the vitality of their thinking would have been absorbed into other fields, had not the intellectual interests of the American student body during the past forty years provided a medium in which the new science found a fertile field for growth.

If it must be admitted that in practice sociology has given some warrant for its characterization as a science of leftovers, it must be recognized that its point of view and its emphasis have for the past forty years met a definite demand from the students of American colleges and universities that was not provided for in the other departments of social science. If it were today withdrawn as a separate discipline, the older departments of social science would be compelled greatly to enlarge their offerings, because of this definite demand on the part of students for the materials now contained in the offerings of sociology. But while this response to persistent and otherwise unmet demands has rendered an important service to higher education, it is clear that in meeting it sociology has been led to build a house that shelters many diverse inmates.

And filling these otherwise unfilled gaps has not been the only source of diversity in the materials gathered under the name of sociology. The different types of personnel that have been attracted to the standards of the new science have been so numerous that in its less than half century of existence there has not been time to weave their varying points of view into a body of clearly defined material.

This diversity first appeared among the men whom we now recognize as the founders of American sociology. As writers, and in most cases more particularly as teachers, they left an enduring imprint on the young science. Probably the majority of the present teachers of sociology in American colleges and universities were at some time students of one or more of these vigorous thinkers. And because they were pioneers and had the intellectual vitality to strike out on untrodden paths, they maintained the intellectual individualism of the pioneer. They were frequently sharply critical of one another's points of view, and they tended to build up schools of sociological thought, not entirely devoid of partisan zeal. The students of Small and those of Giddings have probably never entirely recovered from somewhat of a mutual compassion for the depths



of ignorance evinced by one another. And who has attempted to reconcile the social teleosis of Ward with the laissez faire of Sumner? Have not the followers of Cooley and of Ross had somewhat distinct approaches to social theory? Such vigorous diversity is of course the very stuff out of which high thinking is developed. But it requires time to weave such conflicting views together into an organic scientific unity. And fifty years is not a long period.

There is one similarity, however, which runs through much of the contributions of the founders. That is the philosophical approach. There are undoubtedly exceptions to this; but there is no doubt that particularly the works of Small, Giddings, and Ward, and the influence which those men left on their students was distinctly philosophical. And the inductive method can hardly be said to characterize the works of Cooley and Sumner. The heritage of these five founders must be recognized to be distinctly philosophical in character.

The second group that has left a distinctive impress on American sociology is made up of those who have been particularly interested in the melioristic, reform, and ethical aspects of the subject. Since Charles Richmond Henderson came to the University of Chicago in 1892 and began instruction in the care of dependents, defectives, and delinquents, and other practical social problems, most departments of sociology have given considerable attention to questions of social improvement. The large emphasis in this direction has not been entirely due to the type of personnel that was drawn into the staffs of sociology departments, since the demand for such courses from the student bodies has been very marked. But the personnel of the departments has undoubtedly had an important influence. A history of the previous occupations and interests of those who came into the teaching of sociology from 1895 to 1915 would reveal that a very considerable proportion found in the new science an opportunity for an expression of their ethical interests.

The founders, in spite of their varying points of view, all represented primarily what we now regard as general sociological theory or pure sociology. This second group, while recognizing the basic importance of pure science, brought in a marked emphasis upon a discussion of practical social problems. And nearly all departments of sociology have given a considerable proportion of their attention to these courses.

The third group that has brought its peculiar point of view into American sociology is made up of the younger sociologists, most of whom have received their graduate training within the past fifteen to eighteen years. This group is strongly impregnated with the behavioristic point of view and finds in the physical sciences the methods and techniques that they believe should be brought into sociology. It would be incorrect, of course, to regard this group as entirely set off from the older sociologists. Their point of view is shared to a considerable degree by all present-day sociologists, and represents to a great extent the more recent trend in the thinking of all social scientists. The distinction is really one of emphasis. It is in their intense fear of philosophical generalizations, their abjuration of all ethical and reform interests, and their preoccupation with quantitative measurements and inductive methods that this group presents a contrast with the emphasis of the other two groups which have influenced American sociology.

It is inevitable that with the demand for courses dealing with phases of current social life which were neglected by other social sciences, and with such diverse interests and emphasis among its personnel, the offerings of sociology departments during the first four decades of their existence in institutions of higher learning should present such a wide diversity. These departments have sincerely endeavored to meet the demands made upon them by students and have at the same time reflected the varying intellectual interests of thinkers who were pioneering in a field that was not delimited by traditional content or methods.

But to understand the origin of our diversity is quite a different thing from being content with the present lack of unity and definiteness in the content of sociology. While the contribution that sociology has made to the thought of the past forty years is one of which no sociologist need be ashamed, to be satisfied with its present status as a definite scientific discipline might be held to indicate a lack of acquaintance with the situation as it exists.

This situation is reflected in the introductory course. The existence of different schools of sociology, a confusion of the point of view of a science of society with that of efforts to enlist students in practical social effort, differences in the ideas concerning the fundamental concepts of the subject, all appear in the variety of materials contained in the introductory course as taught in different institutions.

A number of embarrassments arise from this fact. In the first place, we find it difficult to accept students in advanced courses in one institution when they have had their elementary course in another. The materials presented in different departments are frequently so diverse that there is no assurance that a student who has completed an introductory course in one department has any proper foundation for advanced work in another department.

What, however, is of more importance is the wide disparity that exists concerning what is to be regarded as the fundamentals of sociology. This undoubtedly is inimical to the standing of sociology among other sciences. If the elements of sociology may be anything from the methods of caring for the dependent, defective, and delinquent groups or the technique of community surveys to the mind of primitive man or a philosophy of civilization, can we complain if our neighbors in other fields confess some bewilderment as to just what it is that sociology stands for among the scientific disciplines?

Moreover, it is well known that the majority of students who register for sociology take no more than one or two courses. These students comprise the large group who are

going out as members of society, presumably with some small shaping of their thinking by their instruction in our classes. Has sociology any central, fundamental ideas and points of view to contribute which students trained in Columbia, Ohio State University, and the University of Texas would all recognize as a sociological point of view? In the impact of academic sociology on the press of the country is there anything central in our offerings which we can point to as the fundamental concepts of the subject?

It is true, of course, that time and discussion are the great factors in the sifting and the integration of the varying points of view in a scientific field. As indicated above, fifty years is not a long period for this process, especially considering the factors that have been noted. No forcing process is desired by any one. It would be as futile as it would be unscientific for any one to undertake to lay down *ex cathedra* what should be the fundamental ideas of sociology. They can come only out of the continual interplay of ideas upon one another under conditions of open-minded discussion.

But there has been a growing conviction among a number of American sociologists for several years that there may be more unity among us than appears on the surface, and that this fundamental unity that does exist is hidden under differences of terminology and methods of presentation. And it has been thought that, by centering attention on the matter, this existing unity might be brought to the front and the process of integration hastened in the interest of overcoming some of the manifest embarrassments that our diversity now imposes upon us.

This conviction led to an effort, first in the Ohio Sociological Society and later in the section meeting on the teaching of sociology at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Society in 1931, to secure a study of the problem. At the request of the section a Committee was appointed to study the matter and to report to the Society at the meeting in 1932.

It was felt, both by the Executive Committee of the Society and by those originally interested in the matter, that the fundamental need was for more information concerning the present status of the introductory course. The Committee was therefore constituted primarily as a committee for investigation to make a study of the situation as it now exists and to present a report at the annual meeting in 1932. The Committee was also given charge of the program of the section on the teaching of sociology for the 1932 meeting of the Society. The reports of the Committee comprised the program of the two sessions of that section.

In the selection of the personnel of the Committee it was intended to give representation to the various types of institutions offering instruction in sociology. It was thought that the problems presented in the teaching of elementary sociology would vary with the type of institution and that it was desirable to have a picture of the situation as represented by these varying circumstances. In organizing the work of the Committee the institutions offering sociology were divided into the following groups: (1) State universities, (2) large endowed universities, (3) endowed colleges, both independent and those with Protestant religious traditions, (4) Catholic colleges and universities, (5) women's colleges, (6) teachers' colleges, (7) Negro colleges, (8) land-grant colleges of agriculture and mechanical arts and colleges of agriculture in State universities. Each of these groups was studied separately. In addition, for the purpose of dividing the work of the Committee, the colleges and universities of the Northeast area, including Pennsylvania and all States East and North, were made a separate division since the educational traditions of this area are somewhat distinct.

A questionnaire was drawn up by the Committee for submission to the instructors in introductory courses. This questionnaire asked for information concerning the following points: the length of the course; prerequisites; text and

other materials used; the objectives of the course; a topical outline of the main divisions; the instructor's conception of the scope and general approach; the principal concepts used; the names of sociological writers emphasized; the personnel and administration of the course; the library facilities; the methods of teaching. The questionnaire was sent by the members of the Committee to each of the colleges or universities in their respective areas. An effort was made to get information from every institution of higher learning in the United States and Canada teaching sociology.

The success achieved in getting complete returns was not as great as was desired, although in many cases a second call was made. In all, however, there were three hundred and eighteen schedules returned, and in each of the areas the returns were sufficient to be entirely representative. In the judgment of the Committee, therefore, the returns give a rather accurate picture of the introductory course as taught in the colleges and universities of the United States and Canada.

In the pages which follow there are presented the reports from these various areas, after which there is a summary of the whole situation, and the conclusions of the Committee concerning the need for some constructive effort towards greater unity.

REPORTS ON THE INTRODUCTORY  
COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN AMERICAN  
COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES  
THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY  
IN THE UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF  
THE NORTHEAST AREA

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To Professor Duncan and myself was assigned the north-eastern section. As Professor Duncan left this region before the returns were received, he sent his material to me, and it is incorporated in this report. I have not consulted him as to the nature of the report, and he is not in any way responsible for the conclusions.

We sent out altogether about 100 questionnaires and received 36 more or less fully filled out. Some of the questions are of such a nature that the replies can be tabulated by simple arithmetical processes. Others would require elaborate analysis to deduce their full meaning.

In the former class, the results are as follows:

Do you have more than one introductory course?

Yes—1. No—29.

Does your institution have an orientation course in the social sciences?

Yes—9. No—22.

If so, must it precede introductory sociology for all who take the latter?

Yes—6. No—0.

Number of hours per week—3.

Number of weeks—15-20 for one term—10.

30-40 for two terms—20.

Number of instructors in the department:

One—9. Two—7. Three—5. Four—1. Five—3. Seven—1. Fourteen—1.

Degrees of instructors:

A.B.—1. LL.B.—1. A.M.—27. Ph.D.—45.

Number of instructors teaching introductory course:

One—15. Two—0. Three—2. Four—1. Five—0. Six—2.

Degrees of instructors teaching introductory course:

A.B.—1. A.M.—13. Ph.D.—23.

Turning to the second category of questions, we find first library facilities. There is obviously no way of summarizing the answers to this question. The question requesting the main topical divisions, subdivisions, and percentage of time on each main division cannot be summarized. Several assimilated it with the question concerning objectives of the course. Several said they did not have time to answer. In many cases the practice was closely identified with the text chosen.

Concerning the question calling for a listing of 25-50 concepts, after consuming all the time I could allow her to use on this question, my secretary accumulated a list of about 75 concepts, of which 68 were mentioned once, 6 twice, and 1 three times. It is clear that a completion of the process would have resulted in an enormously extended list, with no semblance of uniformity. Some simply referred to the topical headings in the textbook.

The question concerning the use of names of writers on sociology with which students in the introductory course should be made familiar is one of the most illuminating in the list. The witnesses gave a most amazing range of answers. Two did not answer. The extremes were: at one end three who do not regard names as important, and at the other "all the great names and works in the field." More explicit at the upper limit was a detailed list of 63 names. The aggregate of writers included in the returns is a genuine omnium-gatherum. Here are philosophers, historians, ethnologists, anthropologists, geographers, biologists, Church Fathers, economists, geneticists, novelists, social workers, publicists, biometrists, psychoanalysts, psychologists, diplomats, and surprisingly few statisticians. The individual names include not only the founders, such as Comte, Spencer, Ward, Sumner, Giddings, and Small, but almost every American sociologist whose writings have attracted any attention whatever.

The undergraduate who was familiar with any considerable proportion of these names, in any other sense than



having memorized them from a list, could certainly credit his introductory sociology course with having supplied him with many of the essentials of a liberal education.

The quite general recognition of the importance of names demonstrates clearly that sociology as yet is far from the degree of standardization where it makes no difference to the beginning student who says a particular thing, and names are forgotten as they are in physics and chemistry.

Out of my hasty study of these partial returns, one conclusion seems to emerge clearly. There is at present no such thing as a general introductory course in the colleges and universities of the northeastern section. There are many courses called by that name, but nothing that approaches standardization. Each department handles the problem in a manner determined by the make-up of its own personnel, the educational and other experiences and antecedents of the teachers, the special setting of each particular institution, and most of all the treatment followed in whichever of the available texts is chosen for class use. At the present moment, our textbook writers are the arbiters of the elementary course. If a recommendation is desired, it would seem to be that for the immediate future things be left in this state, and that no effort be made to standardize the introductory course. This does not mean that sociologists should abandon all efforts towards the standardization, or at least harmonization, of their basic concepts. Quite the contrary. Let them work as arduously as possible to come to an understanding with each other. Let these matters be threshed out as thoroughly as can be in the technical journals and in professional discussions. But until there has been laid some broad basis of uniform concepts, order of topical arrangement, method of coordination, scientific terminology, and standardized generalizations by leading sociological theorists, there is no prospect of a useful termination of efforts to standardize the elementary course.

THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY  
IN STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LARGE EN-  
DOWED UNIVERSITIES OF THE WEST,  
MIDDLE WEST, AND SOUTH

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Fifty-seven questionnaires were sent to State universities and large endowed institutions west and south of Pennsylvania and the following data were assembled from the returns sent in by 33 institutions—25 State universities and eight endowed institutions. Reports were received from State universities in Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, Colorado, Florida, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, South Dakota, Texas, Utah, Virginia, Washington, and Wisconsin. The endowed institutions reporting were Duke, McGill, Northwestern, Oberlin, Southern California, Stanford, Vanderbilt, and Washington (St. Louis).

The limited amount of space assigned to this report will permit only the barest summary data being included. Combined data for the two types of institutions will be given and little attempt will be made to interpret these data.

Six institutions reported more than one introductory course; e.g., one for underclassmen and one for upper-classmen, while 27 institutions reported one course only. Eight institutions reported that they had an orientation course in the social sciences while 25 reported in the negative. Of the eight reporting an orientation course, two replied that it must precede the introductory course in sociology and six answered in the negative.

Considerable variation is shown in the prerequisites for the introductory course. Five institutions have no pre-

requisite, 23 require one year, one requires two years, one has a requirement of twenty-four semester hours, one requires one semester of work, one two quarters, and one one quarter. Thirty of the institutions specify no previous courses in other departments as prerequisite to the introductory course, while three institutions, all of them in the group of endowed institutions, do require courses in other departments.

Reports from institutions operating under the semester system show that 22 institutions give the course three hours a week and four offer the course five hours a week. In the same institutions, 12 give the course for 18 weeks, nine for 36 weeks, three for 16 weeks, one for 17 weeks, and one for 15 or 16 weeks. Institutions operating under the quarter system give the number of hours per week devoted to the introductory course as follows: five for five hours, one for three hours, and one for two or three hours. The number of weeks given to the course varies from five institutions for 12 weeks to one institution for 25 weeks and one for 11 weeks.

Because of the great overlapping of many of the "objectives" held for the course it was necessary to classify them more or less arbitrarily under somewhat general headings. It will be noted that more than one "objective" was held by most of the institutions and some of these fell into some rather significant "blocks." Space will not permit listing these "blocks" in this report. Twenty-eight institutions reported "orientation in the social sciences or sociology" as a major objective; 12 listed "a scientific, impartial, unbiased attitude"; nine gave "a working system advanced study in sociology"; eight gave "a working system of thought about society"; seven listed "socialization and liberalization of student's point of view"; five hope to "show that society can be analyzed and, in part, controlled"; four stress "cultural objectivity, etc.," "stimulation of interest in the subject," and "provision of application of the concepts of the course"; three wish to acquaint the student

with the problems of social disorganization: and one stressed "social meliorism" as an attitude to be developed.

Twenty-eight institutions reported on library facilities available for sociology instruction and compared them with those available for other departments. Eighteen described their facilities as adequate, five as inadequate, seven as fair, and one as "far from ideal." In comparing facilities, 15 stated that facilities were equal, five said they were inferior, and three regarded their facilities as superior.

A great deal of interest is attached to the question on the main topical divisions of the introductory course with the principal subdivisions. Answers to this question overlapped considerably, and any attempt at classification of the subdivisions given under each main division would produce confusion and be of only slight significance. Such a classification has therefore been omitted. So many institutions failed to give approximate time or approximate percentage of total time spent on each main division that it was impossible to work out the percentages for purpose of classification. Main divisions not mentioned at least twice are omitted from the following report:

Social process: mentioned by 15 institutions

Social change and social evolution: 14 institutions

Introduction and background: 12 institutions

Social controls: 10 institutions

Human nature; conditioning; personality: 10 institutions

Groups: 9 institutions

Culture (includes such topics as "The nature of culture," "Folkways and mores," "The analysis of culture," "Acculturation," and "Culture and social change"): 8 institutions

Social institutions: 8 institutions

The community: 8 institutions

Social interaction: 8 institutions

Factors in social life: 7 institutions

Physical and geographical environment: 6 institutions

Methods of social research: 5 institutions

The nature of sociology: 5 institutions

Social origins and social organization: 5 institutions

Population: 5 institutions

Biological basis of association: 4 institutions

Social maladjustments, including social disorganization and social problems: 4 institutions

Society and the person: 3 institutions  
Social progress: 3 institutions  
Social structure: 3 institutions  
Organization of society: 2 institutions  
Social class and caste: 2 institutions  
Social interests: 2 institutions  
Human or social ecology: 2 institutions

Principal concepts listed ten or more times by thirty-one institutions reporting are as follows:

Concept mentioned 25 times: culture  
Concepts mentioned 24 times: social controls and codes  
Concepts mentioned 21 times: institutions, mores, social conflict  
Concept mentioned 19 times: accommodation  
Concept mentioned 18 times: folkways  
Concepts mentioned 17 times: assimilation, social change  
Concepts mentioned 16 times: personality, social interaction  
Concept mentioned 15 times: social process  
Concepts mentioned 14 times: community, cultural lag, human ecology  
Concepts mentioned 13 times: adjustment, group, society  
Concepts mentioned 12 times: attitude, competition, diffusion, isolation, social evolution  
Concepts mentioned 11 times: cooperation, crowd, cultural areas  
Concepts mentioned 10 times: collective behavior, communication, primary group, race, social contacts

Of less significance, perhaps, are the names of writers on sociology and others with which it is believed students in the introductory course should be made familiar. In all, 117 names were listed. These ranged in number of times mentioned from Cooley and Sumner, mentioned 23 times; Spencer, mentioned 20 times; Giddings, mentioned 19 times; and Ward, mentioned 18 times, to the names of 50 men and women mentioned once each. This latter group included the names of many persons little known to advanced students in sociology to say nothing of the names of several who cannot be classed as sociological writers or as having more than a very remote relationship to the subject of sociology; e.g., Gobineau, Jesus, Larmie, Lippert, Pavlov, and Trotsky.

Twenty-four State and eight endowed institutions reported on the content, scope, and general approach that

it is believed should characterize the introductory course. As one might expect, considerable range and latitude were evidenced in the replies on content and scope. Fourteen institutions state, in one form or another, that a general introduction to the field of sociology, implying a study of forces, processes, products, etc., constitutes the major portion of their courses. Four institutions emphasize culture, its development and molding effect; two report a combination of general introduction and cultural emphasis; two added a treatment of social philosophy; five added instruction on social control and collective behavior; one emphasizes problems; another stresses "process"; another devotes major attention to "geographical, biological, and psychological bases of social life"; and still another emphasizes the "psychology of society."

Two main types of approach were noted in the replies to the questionnaire; *i.e.*, cultural and socio-analytical. Eight of the institutions adopt the former approach and 11 attempt an analysis of the social life surrounding the student, although at least 2 of these institutions call attention to the fact that the cultural approach is by no means neglected.

Less satisfactory were replies on teaching methods. The general impression left by the sixteen reports on this subject is to the effect that, aside from a more or less general use of the lecture method, there is little uniformity. Fourteen institutions reported the use of lectures, the time consumed varying from 16 per cent to 100 per cent of the total time; 12 institutions reported the use of quiz sections for the purpose of amplification and discussion; 11 reported class discussion; 10 reported weekly tests or "short tests in quiz sections," while all 16 reported written examinations at midterm and at the end of the course; four reported field work with reports; five reported projects and reports in class; five reported term papers; and 10 reported collateral readings with or without written reports. Most institutions made no report on time consumed

in each form of activity and those institutions reporting gave information that was not comparable.

Answers to the question about the administration and degree of similarity between sections as to content and method where the course is given by more than one instructor were so unlike that proper classification was impossible. In general, however, it may be definitely stated that the great majority of the institutions report great similarity between sections, this similarity being obtained by mutual agreement, through the planning of all work by one man, through letting one person do all the lecturing, etc. However, the impression is given that teachers have autonomy within the general scheme or plan.

After excluding all teachers below the rank of instructor the 32 institutions reporting on this point show a total of 158 instructors in the departments of sociology, or an average number of instructors per department of 4.93. The actual number ranges from one to 31 instructors per institution. Of these instructors, 94 have the Ph.D. degree, 40 the A.M., 11 the A.B., three the B.S., two the LL.D., and one each the degrees of B.D., LL.B., M.S., R.N., LL.M., and one holds no graduate degree but has the equivalent in graduate study. In these same institutions there are 112 instructors who teach the introductory course, or an average of 3.61 instructors per institution. Fifty-six of these instructors have the Ph.D. degree, 36 have the A.M., and 15 the A.B. The rest hold other degrees or combinations of degrees. Twenty-seven hold the rank of professor, 21 of assistant professor, 17 of instructor, 17 of assistant, 12 of associate professor, three of teaching assistant, two of teaching fellow, one of associate, and one of lecturer.

# THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN THE PROTESTANT AND NONSEC- TARIAN COLLEGES OF THE WEST, MIDDLE WEST, AND SOUTH

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In setting forth the results of the study of the introductory course in sociology, the following may be of interest: One hundred and fifty-two copies of the questionnaire were sent out; fifty-four complete or partial replies were finally returned.

Eighty per cent of the colleges replying are listed in the *Blue Book* as being under denominational control. The others are under Christian influence. Within these colleges are often young instructors, fresh from the graduate schools where rigidly objective standards and scientific procedure are upheld. It seems therefore that the answers suggest attempts to carry on towards theological objectives in an atmosphere partially objective and partially religious. Terms in such situations lack clarity and permit a double connotation. Any simple classification of such terms is hazardous.

In many cases, sociology is looked upon as a device for furthering, with the prestige of science, ends and ideals conceived as objectives of the Christian college. It becomes the instrument of the missionary.

## QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Do you have more than one introductory course: e.g., one for underclassmen and one for upperclassmen?

One course—45 colleges      Two courses—6 colleges

Does your college have an orientation course in the social sciences? If so, must it precede introductory sociology for all who take the latter?

1. Seventeen colleges list general and specifically social-science orientation courses. Of that number four speci-



cally state that the course is operated by coöperation of various departments. Thirty-four have no such orientation course.

2. Of the 17 having such courses only eight require them before sociology. In most cases they are required of all Students.

What are the prerequisites for introductory sociology?

1. Amount of college work that must precede:

2. Previous courses in other departments:

a) Of those having only one course:

30 require sophomore standing

6 require junior standing

6 require freshman standing

1 requires "upper division" standing (junior)

Where two courses are offered, the prerequisites are freshman standing and junior standing.

Number of hours per week the course is given. . . . .

number of weeks. . . . .

1. Where one course is given:

Number of colleges	Hours	Weeks
26	3	18
2	5	18
14	3	34-36
1	5	11
1	4	12
1	2	36

---

45

2. Where two courses are given:

Number of colleges	Hours	Weeks
2	5	12
2	3	18
1	3	36
1	{ 2	18 freshman-sophomore
	{ 3	18 junior-senior

---

6

State somewhat fully the objectives that you hold for the introductory course.

The objectives of the course in introductory sociology, as indicated by the instructors, may be reduced to the categories that follow:

1. Selling sociology to the colleges and to the student public. There is a recognition that the subject has not yet been fully integrated with the curriculum. In fact, some of the older universities do not as yet recognize the subject as a field for separate and graduate study; in others such recognition is comparatively recent.

2. Overcoming what has been called the "euphonistic obstacle." The term sounds too much like socialism. There probably does not exist a college community in the country in which are not influential citizens whose conception of sociology is not that of something akin to radicalism. The writer knows of influential bankers to whom the meaning and scope of the subject must rather frequently be restated. There may have been a misreading between the lines, but it seems that such notion is detected in over ten per cent of the replies.

3. Sociology is looked upon as furnishing a rationale of personality growth and development. It serves to inform the student in ways and techniques of more rational adjustments, and appreciation of current methods of adjustment on his campus. It furnishes, in short, a technique of practical socialization and wholesome personal growth. And beyond that, it serves to orient the student in his community and to an appreciation of what the community contributes to his development. It further furnishes an appreciation of the larger social problems, and stimulates desire to participate effectively and intelligently in their solution. Further still, it furnishes a sort of prophylaxis against further maladjustments—in short, rational citizenship and group membership. One writer would frankly approach from, and include sociology in, the field of ethics.

4. Inculcation of scientific detachment and objective attitude towards social phenomena.

5. Introduction to sociology as a science, and establishing the distinction between sociological and social problems. This lays the basis for advanced and graduate study, and for the possibility of an intelligent reading of the growing body of sociological literature. Back of this is doubt-

less the desire to find major students and to direct them to graduate study and professional achievement. This leads to acquaintance with men whose writings may become objects of imitation and criticism as well as valuable historical information.

6. There is also the object of opening up a field of vocational opportunity in social service, as well as in sociology professionally. This means also equipment for the life-work of teachers and ministers.

7. Another objective may be designated as a technique of "spiritual hygiene." This may be a hazardous statement, yet apparently contains a suggestion of truth.

8. To create a tolerant and broad-minded attitude.

Give the main topical divisions of your introductory course, with the principal subdivisions and approximate percentage of total time spent on each main division.

There is an unmistakable tendency for the textbook to determine the topics and proportion of time and emphasis. Several replies merely say "see table of contents of the text." About these texts, while supplementing them, various instructors have built their courses.

List here twenty-five to fifty of the principal concepts which you believe a student who has completed the course should be able to understand and use.

The thirty most frequently stated concepts are:

Culture .....	28
Social control .....	27
Institution .....	24
Conflict .....	23
Personality .....	18
Mores .....	18
Assimilation .....	18
Accommodation .....	17
Social progress .....	17
Attitudes .....	16
Folkway .....	16
Ecology .....	15
Isolation .....	15
Interaction .....	15
Group .....	13

Competition .....	13
Social distance .....	12
Social process .....	12
Mobility .....	12
Custom .....	11
Community .....	11
Social heritage .....	10
Socialization .....	10
Human nature .....	10
Adaptation .....	9
Coöperation .....	9
Primary group .....	9
Subordination .....	9
Superordination .....	9
Psychic and cultural environment.....	9

Reference to table of contents of text to determine concepts:

Ross .....	2
Hart (Science of Social Relations).....	1
Blackmar and Gillin.....	1
Case .....	1

With what names of sociological writers and others do you believe students in the introductory course should be familiar?

<i>Name of writer</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Name of writer</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>
Ross	28	LeBon	3
Spencer	24	MacIver	3
Giddings	23	McDougall	3
Cooley	22	Mendel	3
Sumner	21	Plato	3
Park	20	Reuter	3
Small	19	Rousseau	3
Burgess	18	Simmel	3
Comte	17	Wallas	3
Thomas	17	Walson	3
Ellwood	13	Weissmann	3
Bogardus	12	Young	3
Darwin	11	Aquinas	2
Gillin	11	Bacon, Francis	2
Tarde	10	Binder	2
Ogburn	8	Briffault	2
Wissler	8	Carver	2
Bernard	7	Arnold	2
Boas	7	Devine	2
Keller	7	Durkheim	2
Barnes	6	Ely	2

<i>Name of writer</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>	<i>Name of writer</i>	<i>Number of times mentioned</i>
Blackmar	6	Freud	2
Addams, Jane	5	Goddard	2
Malthus	5	Hankins	2
Case	5	Hayes	2
Dewey	5	Hobbes	2
Davis	5	Huxley	2
Galton	5	Kidd, Benjamin	2
Krecher	5	Köhler	2
Sorokin	5	MacKenzie	2
Faris	4	North	2
Odum	4	Page, Kirby	2
Veblen	4	Pearson, K.	2
Westermarck	4	Smith, Adam	2
Aristotle	3	Steiner	2
Beach	3	Thomas, Norman	2
Goldenweiser	3	Thrasher	2
Groves	3	Trotter	2
Hart, Hornell	3	Wiley	2
Huntington	3		

One hundred and twenty-seven other names were mentioned one time each.

Give at some length your ideas concerning the content, scope, and general approach which you believe should characterize the introductory course.

About 40 per cent of the replies say that this has been answered in questions on pages —, or they omit it. The remainder exhibit quite a variety of answers, as might have been expected. First, there is the conflict over what is conceived to be the logical, as distinguished from the pedagogical, approach—the abstract versus the concrete. One group favors beginning with the learning of principles and concepts as tools for opening up the social situation. The other would begin with a study of contemporary life in the concrete, the local community, the life experiences of the student, and proceed to inductive generalizations. This is further complicated by local considerations, the size of the college, and the number of sociology courses offered in the college. In some colleges the introductory course is also the final and only course the majority of the students will take. Aspiration is tempered in and by prac-

tice, thus balancing the theoretical ideal with the locally possible.

Secondly, there is the distinction as to whether the objective is practical and concerned with the student's own personal development and orientation, or whether he is being equipped for life in the community as citizen, teacher, or minister, or further, whether he is being made into a sociologist. Perhaps a distinction may be put thus: Is the student being equipped to become a participating observer or to become an observing participant?

Sociology is conceived, on the one hand, as a body of knowledge furnishing materials for the solution of concrete life and social problems, and as emotionally conditioning the future citizen to react in approved ways to such problems; and, on the other hand, sociology is conceived as a science, a body of truth, desirable as a mode of understanding a kind of reality. The replies indicate that the colleges we are here concerned with are preponderantly in favor of the first alternative. Only incidentally are they concerned with making scholars and producing research sociologists. These considerations determine scope, content, and approach.

Briefly, describe your teaching methods, as lecture, discussion, quiz, size of classes, requirement of special reports, and any other features which will indicate your method and manner of conducting your course:

Seemingly all the methods of conducting classes known to schoolmasters are exhibited in the conduct of the recitation hour. Lectures, class discussion, laboratory exercises, quizzes on text, assigned reading, special readings, notebooks, book reviews for class discussion as well as for instructor's eye alone, term reports and theses, as well as "out-of-class casual conversation" are all reported. Probably 75 per cent of the instructors employ some variety of lecture.

If course is given by more than one instructor, describe administration and degree of similarity between sections as to content and method.

In 50 per cent of the colleges replying, this question does

not arise. There is but one instructor. Of the remaining 50 per cent five indicate more than one instructor and the others give no indication. It is a fair assumption that in the vast majority of colleges of the size here contemplated, only one instructor is so employed.

Where more than one instructor has a section, the common text unifies the course.

Number of instructors in the department, with graduate degrees of each.

In 35 of the colleges replying, the sociology instruction is given by one instructor, giving full or part time. In some cases, the subject is placed in a department of political economy, having several instructors and each giving instruction in sociology. In one such case, the head of the department offers the course. In at least one case, the teacher of ethics handles the introductory course, which is the only one given. One school reports four instructors involved, not all on full time. One has an assistant who grades papers but does no teaching.

The degrees held are as follows: A.B., 3; A.M., 27; Ph.D., 23; J.D., 1; M.D., 1; D.D., 1; D.ès L. (Paris), 1; S.T.B., Ph.D., D.D., Litt.D., 1; S.T.M., 1.

Of those holding the A.M., eight claim from one to two years additional graduate study. One A.M. claims four years of graduate study.

Number of instructors, graduate degrees, and rank of each instructor teaching introductory course:

Rank held by teachers:

Professor .....	12
Associate professor .....	2
Assistant professor .....	2
Instructor .....	3

Degrees by rank:

Professor, A.M. ....	3
Professor, Ph.D. ....	8
Associate professor, Ph.D. ....	1
Assistant professor, Ph.D. ....	2
Instructor, A.M. ....	4
Graduate assistant, A.M. ....	1

Other ranks not specified.

# THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN THE CATHOLIC COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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One hundred and two representative Catholic colleges and universities coöperated by responding to the questionnaire formulated by the Committee on the Teaching of the Introductory Sociology Course.

The number of colleges whose returns constitute the basis of this report amounts to two thirds of the number solicited. The vital interest evoked in the Committee's investigation was due to the realization on the part of the instructors who are teaching sociology, that they, individually, are in a quandary typical to that which gave impetus to the need for the investigation. Wishing aid individually, they responded, so that some recommendations for a body of fundamental sociological ideas might materialize.

The first question under consideration concerned the group for which the course was organized. Eighty-seven colleges stated that they had but one introductory course, which was intended to meet the needs of underclassmen. Three colleges have a course for both upperclassmen and underclassmen; nine colleges have a special course for seniors; two colleges have special courses for juniors and seniors.

Orientation courses in the social sciences apparently are not in vogue. Nine institutions reported the adoption of such a course, while 81 reported that no such course is offered or required.

The prerequisites for sociology were so divergent that the conclusion must follow that some standards should be adopted for a more universal discipline in this regard. Some variations in practice in order of importance are: Fifty-five institutions require two years of college work previous to taking any sociology course; 18 institutions require one



year of college work; seven colleges require one year of freshman work plus work in the orientation course; five colleges require 30 semester hours of college work as a prerequisite. Further statements of prerequisites divulged such as these: a major in economics (30 credits); the completion of freshman and sophomore arts courses before student is eligible for a sociology course; completion of three years of college work; rank of senior as prerequisite for enrollment in sociology. Previous courses in other departments regarded as prerequisite by some institutions were those generally of the social- and political-science groups.

Relative to the time allowances for the course, the modal time was three hours per week for a semester; although two thirds as many institutions devote two semesters to the course.

Upon analysis and interpretation of the objectives set forth by 84 per cent of the institutions for their introductory sociology course, there is an apparent diversity. Nevertheless, the stated aims predispose a central tendency which is towards social orientation. To instruct the student in the nature of society's organization, its basic concepts and institutions, to enable the student to get a sympathetic and intelligent understanding and an interest in the nature and significance of the social group life, and his relations thereto as an individual, to facilitate the development of such attitudes as will allow the student freedom from prejudicial and biased interpretations and conclusions, and to give him the opportunity to gain such knowledge and factual data, are the most concurrent objectives set forth in the questionnaire replies.

The popularity of textbook usage may lead to many deductions. Whether a given text is adopted because it represents a certain school of thought, or because the instructor requires a text as a guide for himself, and as a disciplinary measure for his students, cannot be justifiably concluded one way or the other. However, a somewhat

slavish respect for this instrument exists. Standard texts by the foremost writers in the field are in adoption, with few modifications or omissions being recommended.

Materials outside the text in use by the institutions reporting included field trips, outside lecturers, trips to social agencies and institutions in the community, clinics, special assignments in the field, use of libraries, case records, case studies, special outlines, reports, laboratory work, etc.

In regard to library facilities, 72 colleges reported that those available for their use were adequate, though 28 of this group complained that they were inadequate in comparison to those maintained for other departments. Libraries available in the community wherein a college was situated were also consulted.

The content of the introductory course in sociology denotes many variations in estimates of what should be included under the title of an introductory course in sociology. Standardization does not exist. What is considered as a major topical division by one instructor is relegated to the position of a subtopic by another. The approximate percentage of time allowed on each main division likewise varies. The adoption of a more definite set-up of ideas seems fundamentally necessary should sociology hope to endure as a science among other scientific disciplines. A general confusion is apparent among those teaching the course in regard to the determination and evaluation of such ideas as are deemed basically necessary to be included in an introductory course. This is also true for the concepts which must be included in the study of sociology, as well as for the content, scope, and general approach to that subject.

The teaching methods most frequently employed included the lecture method, together with discussion, field work, special seminars, original study, student-conducted written reports, examinations; and case studies were also indicated as being in general use.

Many of the instructors employ the general method.

science type of teaching through the five steps—exploitation, presentation, assimilation, organization, and recitation.

Sixty-eight instructors demanded written reports of 2,000 to 4,000 words in length, covering some actual problem in the social field in which the student was interested and desirous of developing, and, of which he had the understanding and knowledge necessary to enable him to treat the subject intelligently and comprehensively.

Ninety-three instructors employ oral and written quizzes, and give them weekly, monthly, quarterly, and at the end of the term. Only 2 per cent of the time allotted to the course is devoted to examinations, tests, and quizzing. Very few favor the objective test, consisting of completion tests, selection tests, etc. Semester examinations consist basically of lecture material, items of discussion, assigned material, students' own efforts in survey or research, special reports, and textbook material.

In conclusion, one may state that the status of the introductory course in sociology is an unstable one, due to the varying practices existing in the institutions that have co-operated with the Committee. This detriment may be accounted for by the newness, as well as changeability of the subject matter of the course; also the questionable status of sociology in the curricula of many institutions. In explanation, one finds this course offered in every department of the sciences, a fact which consequently deducts from the identity and importance of the course in its own right.

An agreement and integration of context might aid in protecting the introductory course of sociology from the hazards that beset a department newly launched, and in preserving sociology with the dignity it should merit as a social science. Reading between the lines of the replies, one readily apprehends the recognition of this need by those teaching and guiding the destinies of the sociology course in their institutions.

## THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN NEGRO COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

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Negro colleges and universities in the United States, though relatively few in number as compared with all such institutions, tend, it is said, to reflect the curricula, methods, and ideals established by colleges in the best American tradition. To the extent that this is true, a cross section of practices in Negro institutions would be expected to resemble similar samples from colleges of other groups. With these inferences in mind, the following investigation of courses in introductory sociology was undertaken under the auspices of a committee representing the American Sociological Society. It was hoped that the data would furnish materials to round out a survey of the introductory course in American colleges, if not, indeed, to allow comparison and contrast with current practices and standards.

Questionnaires, similar to those used by the Committee, were sent to 55 Negro colleges and universities which offered no fewer than three years of college work, and which reported a minimum enrollment of 50 students in 1929.<sup>1</sup> Since that number included virtually all of the colleges of the rank desired,<sup>2</sup> no other basis of selection was attempted.

Twenty-six questionnaires were returned, in which replies were generally adequate; but no questionnaire contained all the information requested. The returns, then, represent less than half of the questionnaires sent, but a test of the data reveals that the sample is representative of the better colleges. For example, 11 of 19 colleges with 250 and more students, and seven of 13 colleges with 100 to 250 students replied to questionnaires. Another test of the representative character of the sample shows that four

<sup>1</sup>The list was obtained from *The Negro Year Book, 1930-1931*, pp. 202-203.

<sup>2</sup>Two land-grant colleges with enrollments of fewer than a hundred students were not included.

"A" colleges, and 18 "B" colleges returned information for their courses.<sup>3</sup>

The average enrollment in 11 colleges is 295 students. Fifty-three students are registered in the average department of sociology, and 33 in the introductory course. This may point to a lack of enthusiasm for advanced courses in sociology, for though 18 per cent of all students are registered in the department of sociology, 62 per cent of the latter are registered in the introductory course. On the other hand, when statistics for the last two years are considered, departments of sociology show an increase of 5.7 per cent, as compared with total college enrollment and introductory-course registration. These latter, on the average, record decreases of 17 per cent and five per cent, respectively.

One introductory course in a college is the rule without an exception. However, the course is given twice a year by one college and divided into sections by another. The prerequisite for admission to the introductory course is one year of college work in 11 institutions, and two years of college work in three others.<sup>4</sup> There seems to be no restriction on the registration of juniors and seniors in the course. The general requirement commonly includes no orientation, and seldom includes specific subjects in the social sciences. In fact, two thirds of the institutions have no social-service prerequisite, while as few as one sixth offer altogether but nine courses in contemporary civilization, economics, psychology, and history.

Fifty per cent of the colleges have one teacher of sociology; 35 per cent have two teachers; and the remaining 15 per cent have either three or four. These teachers are usually ranked as professors, but one bears the title of "head" of a department of two teachers, while a second is "director" of a department of three. Of 39 teachers in

<sup>3</sup>Four of 6 "A" colleges, and 11 of 24 "B" colleges, as rated by the Southern Association of Colleges and High Schools, and 7 "B" colleges rated by other agencies were included.

<sup>4</sup>Four quarter-system and seven semester-system colleges require one year of college work. The three colleges requiring two years all have the semester plan.

20 colleges, 35 have masters' degrees, three the doctorate in philosophy, four have bachelors' degrees in divinity, four bachelors' degrees in arts or science, and one reports the bachelor's degree in law. It is significant, in this connection, to note that no college reports an instructor of the elementary course with less than a graduate degree, commonly the master's degree in arts or science.

The average number of sociology courses offered per teacher decreases as the number of teachers increases. One-teacher departments offer an average of six courses, two-teacher departments offer five, and the four schools with three or four teachers offer three courses. The statement, then, that college catalogues should be classified as high-class fiction seems not to hold for sociology in Negro colleges. It is not apparent, from the information available, that those colleges offer more courses than are, or can be, given.

Credits given for the course differ in quarter-system institutions as compared with the semester-system institutions. In the former, the average credit is 5.4 quarter hours, but the modal credit is five quarter hours. Seven colleges, on the semester plan, offer the introductory course for one semester; but six others, on the same plan, require two semesters. The average and modal credits in this latter group are 4.5 and three semester hours, respectively.

Opportunity for continued study in sociology is offered in 15 colleges, where the number of intermediate and advanced courses is above one hundred. Majors in sociology are not generally offered, however, due perhaps to the restrictions made necessary in colleges with one teacher. Yet in those schools whose facilities permit, a more or less definite requirement prevails. Colleges on the semester plan require from 15 to 40 hours for a major, with the average at 24.6 hours and the mode at 24 hours. Quarter-system colleges offer 40 or 45 for a major. The advantage, however, is with the latter requirement.

A textbook, followed with few omissions and with little modification in two thirds of the colleges reporting, is the basic requirement in the introductory course. However, materials in addition to the text are used in twenty colleges. The materials are grouped under: sociological magazines and periodicals; general magazines, journals of other fields, and newspapers; and source or reference books. The latter appear to be used most, occurring 35 times in 57 cases. Cooley's *Social Organization*, and *Social Process*, Sumner's *Folkways*, Ogburn's *Social Change*, and Wissler's *Man and Culture* are reported in 16 instances. Other elementary texts are used in ten instances. The remainder of the reports mention no specific work. General magazines and periodicals are reported 11 times, but the only two named are *The Journal of Negro History* and *Opportunity*. *The American Journal of Sociology* is used in four schools, *Social Science Abstracts* in two, *Sociology and Social Research* and *Social Forces*, in one each. The average number of additional references is six, but the mode is one. Perhaps, the latter measure is nearer to a true description.

Information concerning library facilities for introductory sociology is available from 22 colleges. Sixteen teachers ranked their facilities from average to excellent; seven thought the library facilities not up to the desired standard, or else entirely inadequate; while nine were undecided what the situation was.

Comparison of library facilities for sociology with those available for other departments, in 15 colleges, indicates that sociology is superior to philosophy, religion, and other social sciences in five instances each; to unnamed departments in seven; and to pure science in one. On the other hand, education, history, and literature have the advantage over sociology in ten instances; while economics, pure sciences, and all other departments show superiority in one instance. From these data, we may conclude that library facilities for sociology are definitely inferior to those

for other departments in approximately 55 per cent of the instances given.

Techniques and methods used in teaching introductory sociology are many and varied. Tabulations from a majority of 22 colleges show the use of discussions, lectures, and special reports or problems in the order given. Book reports, tests, notebooks, recitations, term papers, field work, and conferences are used fewer than nine times each. Recitations and term papers appear three times, and field work and conferences appear but once. From this summary, it appears that teachers use many devices—the average exceeds five—to drill students in the materials of the elementary course. One possibly new trend lies in the gradual extinction of recitation and term papers.

Objectives sought in the introductory classes seem to be divided into two classes: first, those which adopt the point of view that sociology is a science; and, second, those which approach the subject as a discipline to teach the art of living. Teachers with the former point of view generally seek to instruct in analysis and method, to give a minimum background of fundamental concepts, and to provide techniques and materials for further study in the field. Teachers of the latter group, on the other hand, believe it their duty to impart information concerning social relationships, to acquaint students with social problems, and to provide interested persons with a desire to act in social situations. Both groups believe that they are reaching their objectives, even though the objectives desired are seldom clearly stated. Moreover, they add, they are doing their work as close to perfection as material facilities and personal limitations allow.

To attain his objectives, the teacher selects a given introductory text, modifies it to suit the class before him, selects the techniques most promising for the moment, and attempts to complete, or go as far as possible, in the text by the end of a given period. Due then to a variety of texts, and to



the approach which each one gives, there is little agreement or standardization of the materials in the introductory course.

If then there is little agreement with respect to the content of the introductory course, there is still less with reference to the fundamental concepts with which the student should be acquainted. Of 200 odd concepts submitted in sixteen lists, 128 appeared but once, and as few as 13 appeared in 50 per cent of the lists. The concepts appearing with the greatest regularity are: conflict, folkways, mores, accommodation, social control, assimilation, community, group, and personality. These appear nine times or more in the sixteen lists. The array of concepts suggests the conclusion that teachers of introductory courses in Negro institutions emphasize categories which explain the situation and condition of the Negro in America.

There is, in addition, small agreement with respect to the names and works of writers in sociology with which elementary students should be acquainted. One hundred and thirty-six names appear 347 times, with 16 names appearing ten or more times, and 115 appearing fewer than three times. The agreement expressed by the former condition finds Sumner, Cooley, and Giddings leading the list; Park and Burgess in fourth place; Ross and Spencer in sixth and seventh places, respectively; and Tarde, Ward, and Comte vying for honors in eighth place. In the lists are found the names of 11 Negroes, appearing 16 times in all. C. S. Johnson and E. Franklin Frazier are mentioned three times each; Kelly Miller twice; W. E. B. DuBois, Benjamin Brawley, H. M. Bond, James Weldon Johnson, Alain Locke, Booker T. Washington, Abram Harris, and Carter G. Woodson once each. If all are not sociologists, teachers of introductory sociology in a few Negro colleges seem to think the course an appropriate place in which to mention their names.

From this rapid survey of the introductory course in Negro colleges we arrive at the following conclusions, sustained, we believe, by the data at hand: Classes are average in size; teachers are fairly well equipped for their teaching; facilities for teaching are perhaps adequate; credits are standard; and methods and objectives are acceptable. There is but limited agreement concerning the content of the course and the authors with whom the students should be acquainted, yet the limitations do not altogether preclude standardization. The trend is towards the "science of society" conception of sociology, and Sumner is the patron saint. In fact, Sumner's name appears first in the list of authors, and the concepts to which he gave prominence rank second and third in the list. On the other hand, considering Cooley, Park, Giddings, and Burgess as representatives of the social psychological approach, and noting the prominence of the concepts which they have used, it appears that this point of view is not ignored.

The most obvious conclusion is that the introductory course in Negro colleges and universities is characterized by its resemblance to the course in other colleges and universities. If it differs at all, it appears to be in the attention paid to concepts referring to the status and condition of the Negro in America, in the use of Negro journals as collateral references, and in referring to Negro authors. But whatever the similarities and differences, one conclusion appears reasonable; viz., the introductory course in sociology in Negro colleges and universities is safe for sociology.

# THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN THE COLLEGES FOR WOMEN IN THE WEST, MIDDLE WEST, AND SOUTH

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This paper attempts to present the nature of the introductory sociology course as taught in some of the colleges for women that are located west and south of Pennsylvania. The data of this paper were assembled by analyzing the responses received from the colleges for women returning the questionnaires submitted by the Committee authorized to make the study of the introductory sociology course. The questionnaires were sent to 100 colleges in this group and 27 of them replied. The entire questionnaire was not answered in each case, but as a group the replies were adequate and probably representative of this section of the country.

## *Administration of introductory sociology course*

The common practice in these colleges is to offer one introductory sociology course that is open to all students above the freshman year; only two of the colleges offer introductory sociology courses—one for underclass students and one for upperclass students. The prerequisite for the introductory sociology course in 19 of the colleges is one year of college credit; two of these colleges specify that the first year's work must include a course in biology and a course in history. Freshman students are admitted into the introductory sociology course in one college; junior standing and a course in economics are the prerequisites in three of the colleges; and a general orientation course in the social sciences is required during the freshman year in five of the colleges. The introductory sociology course is offered as a year course in most of the colleges, although seven of them listed it as a semester course; only one college offered it as a quarter course. The average range of

credit hours for the introductory sociology course is five or six semester hours.

Some appreciation of the content, scope, and general approach of the introductory sociology course in this group of colleges for women can be ascertained from an examination of the objectives, the main topical divisions, and the principal concepts.

#### *Objectives of introductory sociology course*

Below is a classification made of the different objectives listed by the teachers who cooperated in this part of the investigation. Some of the teachers listed only one objective, but many of them offered several objectives.

<i>Objectives</i>	<i>No. of Gates</i>
Mastery of fundamental concepts and principles.....	12
Development of scientific attitudes relative to social phenomena.....	7
Analysis of social behavior.....	7
Historical perspective sufficient to explain contemporary culture.....	6
Development of interest in the participation of group life.....	6
Analysis of some social problems.....	5
Elementary background for social work.....	3

It seems quite evident from this list of objectives that there is some unanimity of opinion relative to the purposes for the course as it is taught in the women's colleges.

#### *Main topical divisions of introductory sociology course*

The general approach of the course in this group of colleges is rather definitely outlined in the main topical divisions included in the following classification.

<i>Main Topical Divisions</i>	<i>No. of Gates</i>
Social and cultural evolution.....	13
Social control.....	11
Social organization.....	11
Social problems.....	9
Social processes.....	5
Biological processes.....	5
Psychological processes.....	3
Social ideals.....	1

The approximate percentage of time devoted to each main topic was not indicated by many of the teachers; each

teacher, in general, had two or three main topical divisions that were presented to students with varying degrees of emphasis.

*Principal concepts considered basic in the introductory sociology course*

It is interesting and gratifying to note that the concepts that were listed as essential to an understanding of the course seemed to follow rather logically the plan of the main topical divisions that were listed, also, by the teachers. There was, however, no uniformity among the teachers' replies relative to the number of principal concepts that students were required to understand by the time the course was completed. Several teachers stated that in their judgments 10 or 15 principal concepts were quite a sufficient number to be introduced into the introductory sociology course, but others indicated that 200 or 300 principal concepts should be mastered in the introductory sociology course. All of the teachers, nevertheless, believed that a thorough mastery of some principal concepts was essential. It is rather appalling that there should exist such a wide variation in regard to so fundamental a problem in sociology. If there is any problem of research in the teaching of sociology that is worthy of investigation, obviously one of the first points of attack is in regard to the matter of the determination, within reasonable limits, of the number and type of principal concepts that should be learned by first-year students in sociology. Following is a tabulation of the concepts that were classified from the questionnaires.

<i>Principal Concepts</i>	<i>No. of Cases</i>
Social-process concepts . . . . .	20
Cultural concepts . . . . .	17
Social-organization concepts . . . . .	10
Group concepts . . . . .	8
Personality concepts . . . . .	7
Ecological concepts . . . . .	6
Social-change concepts . . . . .	4
Social-research concepts . . . . .	1

*Sociological writers*

Another question which brought forth a wide range of opinion from this group of teachers related to the number of sociological writers whom it was deemed advisable to make familiar to students during the course. Some of them believed that familiarity with the names of sociological writers should be incidental or reserved for advanced courses; other teachers included a comprehensive list of many classical writers in philosophy, economics, psychology, sociology, and all the contemporary American writers in sociology. The average trend was to consider 10 or 12 American writers that included the names of Cooley, Giddings, Sumner, Small, Ross, and Ellwood.

*Library facilities*

The number of titles that were considered to constitute an adequate library for the sociology departments in these colleges ranged from 200 to 1,000 volumes. Only three of the teachers stated that they believed their library facilities were too limited for good work. This wide discrepancy in the number of volumes that constitute an adequate library can be accounted for, in part, by the fact that the enrollments in these respective schools are vastly different.

*Teaching methods*

The most common teaching method reported was a combination of class discussion, individual reports, and written quizzes. The next method most frequently used was a combination of the lecture, discussion, individual reports, and written quizzes. Several departments provide for field trips.

*Faculty training*

The number of teachers in the various departments that replied ranged from one to four, yet 15 of the departments had but one teacher. There were 12 departments that had one or more teachers with the doctor's degree.

*Undergraduate major and number of courses in the department*

The requirement for an undergraduate major seems to range in terms of semester credit hours from 21 to 30; a common practice is to permit the undergraduate student who majors in sociology to include in the major from five to seven semester credit hours in the related fields of psychology, history, political science, or economics. The number of courses offered in the various sociology departments ranges from one to 24; in most of the colleges eight or ten courses represent the average number that is offered.

*Summary*

This part of the investigation, although somewhat limited in regard to the number of colleges that coöperated, is indicative of certain trends in regard to the introductory sociology course in some of the higher institutions of learning. The colleges for women, in general, offer one introductory sociology course for five or six semester hours of credit. The general prerequisite for the course is sophomore standing. The main objectives which the majority of the instructors listed are mastery of fundamental concepts and principles, development of scientific attitudes relative to social phenomena, analysis of social behavior, historical perspective, development of interest in the participation of group life, analysis of social problems, and background for social work. The main topical divisions used most frequently by the teachers are social and cultural evolution, social control, social organization, social problems, social processes, biological processes, and psychological processes. It is the judgment of almost all of the instructors that certain concepts should be learned during the introductory sociology course and that these concepts should relate to social processes, culture analysis, social organization, group behavior, personality analysis, ecology, and social change. There is, however, no agreement in this group of instructors in regard to the number and the

type of concepts that should form this fundamental work in sociology. The libraries for these sociology departments vary in size from 200 volumes to 1,000 volumes. The most common teaching methods are combinations of the discussion, report, quiz, and lecture types. More than 50 per cent of the departments have only one teacher, and approximately 50 per cent have at least one Ph.D. on the staff.

### *Conclusions*

The general conclusions from these data suggest that (1) there is no marked uniformity in the content, scope, and general approach of the introductory sociology course in the group of colleges for women that coöperated in this investigation; (2) there is evidence that the different points of view relative to the organization of the course in the respective institutions indicate that the introductory sociology course in this particular group of colleges for women is not of a stereotyped variety; (3) there is no indication that superficiality characterizes this course in these colleges; (4) there is need, probably, for some recommendations from matured teachers in the field relative to the most fundamental material; e.g., the number and types of concepts that should be included in the introductory sociology course in colleges in the United States.



# THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN THE STATE TEACHERS COLLEGES

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The purpose of this paper<sup>1</sup> is to present some facts in regard to the teaching of the first course in sociology in the State teachers colleges. A questionnaire was sent out to the 138 teachers colleges doing four years of college work that were listed in the 1930 Educational Directory issued by the Bureau of Education, Washington, D. C. A total of 29 questionnaires was returned. This is 21 per cent, which is not a large percentage; but because the returns came from all parts of the country, the writer believes that the sample secured is representative. The institutions that responded are located in the following States: Arkansas (1), California (3), Colorado (2), Illinois (1), Indiana (1), Iowa (1), Kansas (1), Louisiana (1), Massachusetts (2), Minnesota (3), Missouri (3), New Mexico (1), North Dakota (1), Oklahoma (1), Pennsylvania (2), South Dakota (1), Texas (2), and Wisconsin (2)—total, 29.

Out of the 29 institutions reporting, only the Colorado State Teachers College at Greeley has more than one introductory course in sociology, that is, one for underclassmen and one for upperclassmen. At Greeley both courses are required courses.

Only seven of the colleges have an orientation course in the social sciences. In four institutions this course must precede the introductory course in sociology, while in the other three colleges this is not necessary.

In five institutions there is no prerequisite at all in regard to the amount of college work that must be taken before the introductory sociology course; that is, it is open to all freshmen. One college requires one semester's residence before sociology can be taken; sixteen require sophomore standing; one requires three semesters' residence;

<sup>1</sup>This paper was presented before the Educational Sociology Section at the meeting of the American Sociological Society held in Cincinnati, Ohio, December 28-31, 1932.

while three require junior standing; and three require senior standing. In other words over one half the colleges offer the introductory course in sociology in the sophomore year.

Twenty-five of the schools have no requirement in regard to previous courses in other departments although, in one of these institutions, courses in psychology and biology are recommended. Of the four colleges that have definite course prerequisites, one requires a course in psychology; another requires a course in general psychology and a course in biology; a third requires three courses in biology and one in psychology; and the fourth requires a course in introduction to civilization or an orientation course in history.

The median number of college class hours given to the introductory course is 52. The range is from 36 to 108 hours. The distribution in the colleges is as follows: 36 hours (1), 48 hours (10), 50 hours (1), 54 hours (7), 60 hours (1), 72 hours (4), 96 hours (2), and 108 hours, (3). Total, 29 colleges.

It is difficult to summarize the objectives of the course as given by the various instructors, because of the great variation in statement.

With one or two exceptions all the institutions report that the library facilities in sociology are very good and are on par with the facilities in the other departments.

The main topical divisions of the introductory course include those found in most of the introductory textbooks. Since only one third of the instructors gave the percentage of time devoted to each topic and since the topics listed are not the same in the different institutions, it is impossible to summarize them.

Those filling out the questionnaires were asked to list twenty-five to fifty of the principal concepts which they believed a student who has completed the introductory course should be able to understand and use. A total of 233 different concepts were listed by the various instructors. Of these there were 66 concepts that were listed by three or more instructors.

In regard to what names of sociological and other writers that the students in the introductory course should be

made familiar with, we find that the 29 instructors who answered the questionnaire gave a total of 116 different names. Of this number there are 26 that are listed by four or more instructors.

There seems to be considerable unanimity among the instructors in regard to the content, scope, and general approach that they believe should characterize the introductory course, but summarization is difficult.

The size of the classes ranges from 10 to 100, with the median at 40. In regard to the method of teaching used the informal discussion method predominated in nearly every institution. The lecture method was used to a limited extent, especially in the larger classes. Quizzes were given every week or every two weeks. Nearly all the instructors required special reports on outside reading and a few required term papers. Several of the instructors used objective tests entirely. In a few instances local investigations were conducted, and in some cases field trips were made to the State and city eleemosynary and penal institutions.

In 22 of the institutions answering the questionnaire the introductory course was given by one instructor, while in the other seven it was given by two or more. In six of these institutions the various sections of the course were practically the same as to content and method, while in one institution the method used was different in the various sections as two sections were taught by men trained as economists, who used the factual approach while the sociologist used the case method.

Twenty-seven institutions gave information in regard to the number of instructors in the department and degrees held and the number who taught the introductory course and their degrees. Thirteen colleges had one instructor in the sociology department, five had two, and two had three instructors. Seven institutions had no special department of sociology—in three the departments of sociology and economics were classed together, while in four the department was known as the social-science department. The

three sociology-economics departments each had two instructors.

The twenty-three colleges that had separate sociology departments or a combination of sociology and economics had a total of 35 instructors in them. Of this number 15 held Ph.D. degrees while 20 had A.M. degrees. Of this latter number eight had done advanced work towards the Ph.D. Of the 12 instructors listed in the social-science departments, four held Ph.D. degrees and three had A.M. degrees, while the other five held the following degrees (one each): D.Ed., D.Litt., LL.B., A.B., and B.D. This makes a total of 47 instructors in these 27 institutions.

Thirty-nine instructors were listed as teaching the introductory course in the 27 institutions answering this question. Of this number 32 were connected with the sociology or sociology-economics department, while seven were classified as in the social-science department. In 20 institutions only one man from the sociology department taught all the introductory work; in three colleges two sociologists taught this course; and in two institutions three instructors from the sociology department taught this course. In two institutions a member of the social-science faculty taught the introductory course; and in one there were two men; and in another one there were three from this department.

In regard to the degrees held by the 39 instructors teaching the introductory course, 12 had a Ph.D. degree and 21 had the A.M. degree. Of this latter number nine had done advanced work towards the Ph.D. The remaining six instructors held the following degrees: D.Ed., D.Litt., LL.B., Ph.M., A.B., and B.D.

Only six institutions gave the rank of the instructors who taught the introductory course, the number of teachers being 11. Of this number seven were professors, two were associate professors, and two were ranked as instructors.

Twenty of the colleges have no sociology majors, while nine do have a sociology major. One has a major of 15 semester hours, three require 24 hours, two have 25 hours, one has 30, and two have a 32 semester-hour major. The colleges that do not have a sociology major count soci-

ology courses as part of a major in social science, which includes history, political science, economics, and sociology.

Twenty-one institutions indicated the names of the different kinds of sociology courses they offered. In addition to this the writer secured catalogues from 40 additional State teachers colleges.

These 61 State teachers colleges listed a total of 56 different sociology courses distributed as follows: one course offered by nine institutions; two courses given by 16 colleges; three courses by five; four courses by five; five by five; six by six; seven by one; eight by two; nine by two; ten by three; eleven by two; twelve by three; fourteen by one, and twenty by one. The median number of different courses in sociology offered by these 61 institutions was four.

Fifty-eight colleges offered the introductory course, and three gave only a course in educational sociology and no principles course. Five institutions gave both a social-problems course and a course in social pathology.

The courses offered by the 61 colleges are as follows, with the number of colleges offering each course indicated:

Principles of sociology (58), rural sociology (31), social problems (25), the family (17), educational sociology (14), race relations (11), social psychology (10), advanced sociology (10), urban sociology (9), population problems (8), criminology (8), juvenile delinquency (7), community organization (7), anthropology (7), child welfare (6), social pathology (5), social ethics (5), poverty and dependency (5), social control (5), social institutions (5), social evolution (5), social statistics (3), survey of social theories (3), personality adjustment (2), social case work (2), social behavior (2), social research (2).

Each of the following courses was offered by one institution only:

Social adjustments, surveys and field work, socialism and social reform, evolution of morality, social theory or education, crime and poverty, social attitudes, parental and adult education, scientific study of the social sciences in the elementary grades, educational and vocational guidance, charities, seminar in sociology, economic sociology, social organization, the sociological aspects of patriotism, peace and war, social progress, community problems, social studies of the deaf, abnormal psychology, introduction to philosophy, evolution of the status of women, social well-being, the history of science, science of social relations, introduction to the social world, comparative religion, the origin, development, and antiquity of man and his superstitions, early civilization in Europe and America.

# THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY IN THE SEPARATE LAND-GRANT COLLEGES AND IN COLLEGES OF AGRICULTURE IN THE STATE UNIVERSITIES

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This report is based on answers to the general questionnaire returned by departments of sociology in fourteen separate land-grant colleges and one college of agriculture of a State university.

## *Prerequisites*

Four of the 15 institutions report two types of introductory courses, one for underclassmen and one for upperclassmen. Four institutions have freshman orientation courses, in two of which the orientation course is required as a prerequisite for the introductory course in sociology. In one institution the orientation course is regarded as the introductory course in sociology.

Only two of the 15 institutions permit freshmen to take the introductory course in sociology.

In eight institutions, sophomore standing or above is required for entrance to the course; in three institutions, junior standing; and in two, senior standing. Two institutions require courses in history as a prerequisite to the introductory course in sociology.

## *Time devoted to course*

Time devoted to the introductory course in the 15 institutions is as follows: in ten institutions, three hours a week for one semester, ranging from 16 to 18 weeks; one institution, three hours per week for two semesters of 36 weeks; two institutions, five hours per quarter for 12 weeks; and one institution, three hours per week for ten weeks.

*Objectives of the course*

It is rather difficult to summarize the statements from the different institutions in regard to the objectives of the introductory course. In some cases, it was not quite clear just what the objective was as stated. Teachers from different institutions answering the question may have had similar objectives in view, but they have stated them in such different ways that it is difficult to summarize the statements. However, the writer of this paper seems to distinguish fourteen different objectives mentioned from one to seven times each by the teachers in the 15 institutions.

Objectives reported for the 15 different institutions in the order of the times mentioned are as follows: an understanding of social origins or social changes or social evolution, 7; an understanding of the structure or of the social relationships of society, 6; getting a sociological point of view and a sociological method of analysis of society, 5; an understanding of modern social problems, 5; an understanding of social processes and social interaction, 3; an understanding of the cultural approach of the study of society, 3; an understanding of the vocabulary and concepts of sociology, 3; an understanding of contemporary social thought, 2; an understanding of the major social institutions, 2; an understanding of social control, of the relation of the individual to society, preparation for advanced courses, and orientation to all the social sciences, each mentioned once.

*Library facilities*

Two institutions report excellent library facilities. Six institutions report good or satisfactory library facilities. Five report poor and inadequate facilities for advanced courses. Of 11 institutions reporting on a comparison of library facilities in sociology and other social sciences, six report the facilities as favorable as other departments, and five report their facilities inferior to facilities in the other social sciences.

*Main topical divisions*

The fifteen institutions altogether report fifteen different main topical divisions of their introductory course. These divisions in the order of the number of times mentioned by the fifteen different institutions are as follows: Social structure or social organization, 9; Social evolution, 7; Nature and methods of sociology, 5; Influence of geography or ecology, 5; Social problems, 4; Social conflict and accommodation, 4; Human nature, 3; Social control, 3; The family, 3; Social psychology, 2; The cultural heritage, 2; Biological factors, 2; Population, 2; Folkways and mores, 2; Religion, 1; Social forces, 1.

*Principal concepts student should understand*

Altogether, the 15 institutions report a great number of concepts which they believe their students should understand when they have completed the introductory course. The concepts given in the order of the number of times mentioned are as follows:

Mores, 7; folkways, 6; cultural complex, 6; social institutions, 6; social or cultural lag, 5; social classes, 5; cultural pattern, 5; social control, 5; natural environment, 4; culture, 4; cultural area, 4; race, 4; social evolution, 4; social conflict, 4; society, 4; custom, 4; diffusion, 4; primary group, 4; secondary group, 4; accommodation, 4; social heritage, 3; community, 3; assimilation, 3; conditional response, 3; social process, 3; attitude, 3; social distance, 3; social pathology, 2; Malthusianism, 2; poverty, 2; pauperism, 2; cultural trait, 2; invention, 2; ethnocentrism, 2; monogamy, 2; polyandry, 2; polygyny, 2; social mobility, 2; social selection, 2; competition, 2; crowd, 2; state, 2; social environment, maladjustment, birth rate, death rate, Mendelism, acquired character, social mind, standard of living, probation, parole, community chest, individualism, industrialization, congenital defect, feeble-mindedness, insanity, heredity, the four wishes, concentration, decentralization, segregation, group priority, teleosis, original nature, behaviourism, taboo, inferiority complex, personality, projection, defense mechanism, anti-social, natural area, physiographic area, professionalization, institutionalization, occupational complex, social distribution, active coercion, passive coercion, ecology, ecological progress, metropolitan area, social mechanism, ecological interaction, caste, neighborhood, tradition, progress, mutation, in-group, out-group, reacculturation, crime, Nordic, Alpine, Mediterranean, artifact, paleolithic, neolithic, eugenic, fecun-



dity, fertility, human ecology, invasion, succession, censorship, propaganda, isolation, coercion, liberty, interest, codes, sanction, fashion, religion, nationality, habit, natural causation, average, median, mode, natural selection, culture base, syncretism, sublimation, substitution, consciousness of kind, cultural inertia, each mentioned once.

*Sociological writers with which introductory students should be familiar*

Teachers from four of the 15 institutions reported that they did not believe that it was worth while to try to have the students become familiar with the names of sociological writers in the introductory course. Teachers from 11 institutions report that it was their practice to have students become familiar with the names of from two to 42 sociologists or sociological writers. Six institutions report that they require familiarity with the names of from two to nine sociological writers; four institutions require familiarity with from ten to 20 names; and one institution requires familiarity with 42 names.

The names of writers with which familiarity is required in the order of the number of times mentioned are as follows:

Sumner, 9; Ross, 7; Giddings, 6; Cooley, 5; Small, 4; Wissler, 3; Spencer, 3; Ward, 3; Ogburn, 3; Park, 3; Ellwood, 3; Sorokin, 3; Burgess, 3; Malthus, 2; Park, 2; Darwin, 2; Groves, 2; the Lynds, 2; Westernmarck, 2; Sapir, 2; Briffault, 2; Dewey, 2; Comte, 2; Chapin, 2; Bernard, 2; Hoas, 2; Hankins, 2; Pavlov, Lombroso, Buckle, Goldenweiser, Lowie, Morgan, Keith, Lichtenberger, Spengler, H. G. Wells, Hobhouse, Wallace, E. Jenks, Dawson and Gettys, Durkheim, Zorbaugh, Tawney, Veblen, Carr-Saunders, H. Randall, W. S. Thompson, Norman Angell, Seiple, Rice, Allport, Folsom, Keller, Gillin and Blackmar, Bogardus, Simmel, Tarde, Freud, Kroeber, Rivers, Thomas, Faris, Ely, Pearson, Aristotle, Rousseau, Locke, Hobbes, Hegel, Laski, J. S. Mill, once each.

*Content, scope, and approach*

Only 11 of the 15 institutions reported on this question. Several suggested that answers were already given in replies on main topical divisions.

Suggestions as to what the content of the introductory course should be were as follows: major social institutions,

by three; social problems, by two; and population, culture, contemporary social organization, theoretical and practical phases, and social control, by one each.

One report suggests limitation of course to a study of the major institutions of society and present-day social problems, and two suggest a broad comprehensive course introducing student to the whole field of sociology.

Three institutions suggest an approach to the subject in terms of the students' own group experiences, two as participant observers, one through culture concepts, and another through social problems of the day.

### *Methods of teaching*

Two institutions report lectures as the only method of teaching the introductory course. Seven institutions report a combination of lectures and discussions; one institution reports a combination of lectures and quizzes; four institutions report a combination of lectures, discussions, and quizzes. Seven institutions require special written reports. One institution reports the use of a syllabus, and another the use of a reading list. One institution reports that the only reading required is the textbook. Two institutions require lecture notebooks to be handed in for examination. One institution requires the making of a scrapbook from current magazines and newspapers. One institution requires the student to outline the text. In one institution students are required to make a visit to State institutions for the care of dependents. One institution requires oral book reports.

Three institutions have one-hour monthly written examinations every three weeks; one institution, two examinations per semester; and one institution, weekly written examinations.

Six institutions report classes ranging in size from 20 to 50 students; one institution reports classes of 60 to 75 students.

In 13 institutions the introductory course is given by

one and the same teacher. Two institutions report several instructors giving different sections of the introductory course, and that in both institutions the instructors work together in giving the different sections, using a syllabus and having frequent meetings to discuss the problems of the course.

*Degrees of instructors*

The 15 institutions report 25 different instructors giving the introductory courses. Of the 25, 11 have the Ph.D. degree, 13 the A.M. degree, and one the A.B. degree.

*Undergraduate major in sociology*

Six institutions report that no major is offered in sociology. Seven institutions report a major in sociology or a major in sociology combined with some other social science. The different hour requirements for the seven institutions offering majors in sociology or majors in sociology and some other social science are as follows: 30 semester hours in sociology; 27 quarter hours in sociology; 24 semester hours in sociology; 54 quarter credits in sociology and history; 21 academic hours in sociology; 40 to 50 hours in sociology and economics; 30 hours in economics and sociology.

# THE USE OF TEXTBOOKS IN THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY

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## I. METHODS OF STUDYING THE INTRODUCTORY COURSES IN SOCIOLOGY

Methods of approaching the problem of the content of the introductory course in sociology are becoming somewhat traditional and stereotyped. They seem to fall into the following general classification as to procedure: catalogue listings and descriptions of courses; data gathered from the teachers of sociology and school administrators through questionnaire surveys; data concerning the use of texts assembled and furnished by publishing houses; listing of categories from selected texts; and estimates of textual emphasis based upon the amount of space devoted to different topics in selected texts.

Frank L. Tolman<sup>1</sup> compiled the notions of leading sociologists at the beginning of the century relative to the entire field of sociology courses, and further compiled a large number of catalogue statements relative to the courses at that time taught in American universities. The practice of naming the text was not uniform in his catalogue listing, nor is this true at the present; but those given for the introductory course show a total of 18 texts in use in 1902. His studies are of much historical value; but they reveal very little of importance regarding the content of the introductory course.

L. L. Bernard<sup>2</sup> utilized the questionnaire method to compile extensive data relative to the teaching of sociology in the United States and included in his study extracts of the notions of the leading teachers in 1909. He names five texts in the introductory course as being the leaders at that time; his listing agreeing in the main with that of Tolman.

<sup>1</sup>"The Study of Sociology in Institutions of Learning in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, VII (May 1902) 797-838; VIII (July 1902) 85-121; (Sept. 1902) 251-272; (Jan. 1903) 631-658.

<sup>2</sup>"The Teaching of Sociology in the United States," *American Journal of Sociology*, XV (Sept. 1909) 164-213; XXIII (Jan. 1918) 491-515.

Apart from this, there is little of specific value relative to the content of these courses.

Subsequent committee reports to the society were in like manner based upon data gathered by the questionnaire method. Baber,<sup>3</sup> in his paper presented two years ago, bases his conclusions upon information secured from publishing houses. F. E. Fubank, in his *Concepts of Sociology*,<sup>4</sup> lists the categories of eight general texts, selected because of the prominence of the writers and their connections with the American Sociological Society. It happens that five out of the eight which he selected for comparison have a very limited use in schools at the present, one being used by no other school reporting except that of the author. It is a fair presumption that the author of a text will use it in his own classes. Since there are so many authors, this may account in part for the large number of texts in use.

It is not an impertinence to raise the question here as to the value of this method of study and to the contributions which the studies have made to a solution of our problems. Do they advance us towards any real understanding of the problem or permit any valid scientific generalizations?

They do indicate a great diversity of texts and varied practices as to their use. They reveal the fact that sociologists are not agreed as to what should constitute a standard introduction of their subject for the beginner. They establish the fact of general and extensive dissatisfaction with the texts in frequent changes in the use of texts by different schools, which are evidently made in the hope that the next one will prove more workable. They do reveal the texts which are more widely used than others, but do not reveal why this is so.

Possibly the method is faulty in that it assumes that a widely used text has gained such use on the basis of its content and places too much importance upon the analysis of the so-called leading texts.

<sup>3</sup> "The Teaching of Sociology in Southern Colleges and Universities," *Social Forces* IX (March 1931) 275-94.

<sup>4</sup> New York: D. C. Heath and Co., 1927, pp. 31-45.

A textbook may secure adoption because of the prestige of the author, the prestige of the school with which he is connected, or the prestige of the publishing house by which it is issued and sold. It may secure its adoption by friends of the author who think, or hope, he is capable of producing a workable book, or simply because he was known in college days, or because his production in another part of the field of thought has been worthy. Most every teacher will admit a prejudice in favor of certain book publishers and some might even be led to adopt a text because it is issued by a favorite publisher.

There seem to be fads in textbooks as well as in women's dress; and sociology teachers are not altogether immune to fad tendencies. Park and Burgess seem to have started several fads when they produced their monumental work. For ten years, there have been some very evident tendencies to copy after their work, if in nothing else, in devoting a large part of the text to bibliographies and questions, or in making sure that the book is large enough to command attention.

Territorial and provincial lines seem to have some influence upon the adoption of texts. While the data are not at hand to substantiate this nor were they sufficiently in evidence in the questionnaire answers to the Committee to justify the statement as a fact, there is, nevertheless, some indication that the division of the Society into territorial groups, as the Eastern, the Middle Western, the Western, and the Southern influences text adoptions in the introductory course. A text that is popular in one section of the country may not be so in another. This may be due to a different emphasis being placed upon different brands of sociology in the different sections; or it may be due to certain academic influences exerted by leading universities and their teachers in the different sections.

Another factor influencing text adoptions may be designed by the term "textual techniques." Teachers in the smaller colleges and young instructors desire all teaching helps

available, and the text which is well supplied with questions and exercises and bibliographies of reference tends to be more acceptable than those without these aids to teaching. One of the texts listed among the leaders is significant for its emphasis upon this feature and possibly would have attained very little recognition without it. The tabular presentation shows a marked increase in this aspect of text production.

Books that run the gamut of the publishing houses and secure publication must have a certain sales value according to the judgment of the publisher, and this judgment of what should be in an introductory text may not be altogether reliable. An aggressive publishing house may succeed in promoting a second-rate text, while a less alert publisher may fail to secure adoptions for an excellent text.

Consideration of all these facts should be borne in mind when the leading texts are isolated and made the basis of any study of the problems of the introductory course.

## II. BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS USED AS THE BASIC TEXT<sup>6</sup>

### A. Period from 1854 to 1893: Treatises

1. Henry Hughes, *Treatise on Sociology: Theoretical and Practical*. Philadelphia: "Author," 1854, xxxviii+292 pages.
2. George Fitzhugh, *Sociology for the South; or The Failure of Free Society*. Richmond, Va.: A. Morris, 1854, 310 pages.
3. H. C. Carey, *Principles of Social Science*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1858-59, Vol. I, 474 pages; Vol. II, 480 pages; Vol. III, 511 pages.
4. Kate McKean, *Manual of Social Science; Being a Condensation of Principles of Social Science of H. C. Carey*. Philadelphia: Henry Carey Baird, 1865, 548 pages.
5. Leland A. Webster, *Present Status of the Philosophy of Society*. New York: C. S. Westcott and Company, 1866, xxvii+332 pages.
6. James Edwin Thorold Rogers, *Social Economy*. New York: G. P. Putnam and Sons, 1872, 167 pages.
7. Herbert Spencer, *The Study of Sociology*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1873, xiv+451 pages.
8. Robert Ellis Thompson, *Social Science and National Economy*. Philadelphia: Porter and Coates, 1875, xi+415 pages.

<sup>6</sup>High school texts, texts for orientation courses, outlines and avails, mimeographed editions, and other texts of minor importance listed in the original bibliography are omitted here to conserve space. Twelve treatises which found some use as introductory texts are omitted in Period B, twenty-five titles in Period C; fifty-one in Period D; and ten in Period E. Likewise a bibliography of 38 articles and committee reports, prepared for the use of the Committee on the Introductory Course in Sociology is omitted here.

9. R. J. Wright, *Principia, or Basis of Social Science*. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott and Company, 1875, xxix+524 pages.
10. Herbert Spencer, *The Principles of Sociology*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, Vol. I, 1877, 704 pages; Vol. II, 1879-82, 693 pages; Vol. III, 1885, 645 pages.
11. Lester F. Ward, *Dynamic Sociology*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1883, Vol. I, xxix+706 pages; Vol. II, vii+690 pages.
12. Edmund Woodward Brown, *The Life of Society: A General View*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1885, vi+270 pages.
13. George Fred Holmes, *Science of Society*. University of Virginia: "Author," 1884, 220 pages.
14. George C. Lorimer, *Studies in Social Life*. Chicago and New York: Belford, Clark and Company, 1886, 484 pages.
15. John Bascom, *Sociology*. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1887, xii+264 pages.
16. Joseph Henry Crooker, *Problems in American Society*. Boston: George H. Ellis, 1889, 293 pages.
17. John Stuart McKenzie, *Introduction to Social Philosophy*. Glasgow: T. Maclehose and Sons, 1895; New York 1895, xv+454 pages.
18. Albion W. Small, *Syllabus: Introduction to the Science of Society*. Waterville, Me.: "Mail Office," 1890, 149 pages.

*B. Period from 1894 to 1907*

1. Albion W. Small and G. W. Vincent, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New York: American Book Company, 1894, 384 pages.
2. John Bascom, *Social Theory: A Grouping of Social Facts and Principles*. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1895, xv+550 pages.
3. Arthur Fairbanks, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1896, xv+274 pages; 1901 Edition, xvii+307 pages.
4. F. H. Giddings, *The Principles of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1896, xxvi+476 pages.
5. Lester F. Ward, *Outlines of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898, xii+301 pages.
6. J. H. Stuckenberg, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*. New York: Armstrong and Son, 1897, xii+336 pages.
7. C. D. Wright, *Outline of Practical Sociology*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1898, xxv+431 pages.
8. F. H. Giddings, *The Elements of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1898, xi+353 pages.
9. C. R. Henderson, *Social Elements*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898, ix+405 pages.
10. J. Q. Dealey and L. F. Ward, *A Text-Book of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905, xxv+326 pages.



11. T. N. Carver, *Sociology and Social Progress*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1905, vi+810 pages.
12. F. W. Blackmar, *The Elements of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905, xi+454 pages.
13. E. A. Ross, *The Foundations of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1905, xiv+410 pages.
14. William B. Bailey, *Modern Social Conditions*. New York: The Century Company, 1906, 377 pages.

G. Period from 1908 to 1919

1. J. Q. Dealey, *Sociology, Its Simpler Teachings and Applications*. New York: Silver Burdett and Company, 1909, 405 pages.
2. C. A. Ellwood, *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*. New York: American Book Company, 1910, 331 pages.
3. F. W. Blackmar and J. L. Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1915, viii+586 pages.
4. E. C. Hayes, *Introduction to the Study of Sociology*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1915, xviii+718 pages.
5. H. K. Rowe, *Society, Its Origin and Development*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1916, vii+378 pages.
6. E. A. Kirkpatrick, *Fundamentals of Sociology*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1916, x+291 pages.
7. John M. Gillette, *Sociology*. Chicago: McClurg, 1916, 159 pages.
8. Albert B. Wolfe, *Readings in Social Problems*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1916, xiii+801 pages.
9. E. S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology*. Los Angeles: University of Southern California Press, 1917, 343 pages.
10. H. P. Fairchild, *Sociology, Outline of Applied*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1919, 353 pages.

D. Period from 1920 to 1929

1. G. S. Dow, *Introduction to the Principles of Sociology*. Waco: Baylor University Press, 1920, 505 pages.
2. E. A. Ross, *Principles of Sociology*. New York: The Century Company, 1920, xviii+708 pages.
3. J. Q. Dealey, *Sociology: Its Development and Applications*. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1920 xv+547 pages.
4. R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921, xxiii+1,040 pages.
5. E. S. Bogardus, *Introduction to Sociology*. Los Angeles: J. R. Miller (3d rev. ed.), 1922, 454 pages; (5th ed.), 1931 edition, 519 pages.
6. F. A. Bushee, *Principles of Sociology*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1923, xiii+577 pages.
7. F. W. Blackmar and J. L. Gillin, *Outlines of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, xi+636 pages.

8. James Ford, *Social Problems and Social Policy*. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1923, xiii+1,027 pages.
9. E. A. Ross, *The Outlines of Sociology*. New York: The Century Company, 1923, xiii+474 pages.
10. C. M. Case, *Outlines of Introductory Sociology*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1924, xxvi+980 pages.
11. P. A. Parsons, *An Introduction to Modern Social Problems*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1924, xiv+288 pages.
12. W. G. Beach, *An Introduction to Sociology and Social Problems*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1925, xiv+369 pages.
13. Hornell N. Hart, *The Science of Social Relations*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1927, xix+664 pages.
14. W. D. Wallis, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1927, xv+433 pages.
15. Jerome Davis, H. E. Barnes, et al., *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927, xxiv+926 pages.
16. Jerome Davis, H. E. Barnes, et al., *Readings in Sociology*. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1927, xviii+1,045 pages.
17. F. E. Lumley, *Principles of Sociology*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1928, xii+562 pages.
18. F. H. Hankins, *An Introduction to the Study of Society*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928, xiii+760 pages.
19. E. R. Groves, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1928, viii+568 pages.
20. Albert Muntzsch and H. S. Spalding, *Introductory Sociology*. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1928, xiv+466 pages.
21. R. M. Binder, *Principles of Sociology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1928, xvi+609 pages.
22. C. A. Dawson and E. W. Gettys, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1929, vi+806 pages.

*E. Period from 1930 to 1932*

1. W. D. Wallis and M. M. Willey, *Readings in Sociology*. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1930, xxiv+639 pages.
2. F. J. Haas, *Man and Society*. New York: The Century Company, 1930, xviii+456 pages.
3. J. L. Gillin and F. W. Blackmar, *Outlines of Sociology*. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930, x+692 pages.
4. F. A. Bushee, *Social Organization*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1930, xviii+356 pages.
5. H. G. Duncan, *Backgrounds for Sociology*. Boston: Marshall Jones, 1931, xx+831 pages.
6. R. M. MacIver, *Society; Its Structure and Changes*. New York: Ray Long and Richard R. Smith, 1931, xvi+566 pages.
7. E. C. Hayes, *Sociology*. New York: D. Appleton and Company (2d ed.), 1930, xxvi+787 pages.
8. E. J. Ross, *A Survey of Sociology*. New York: Bruce Publishing Company, 1932, xxii+570 pages.

9. J. M. Reinhardt and G. R. Davies, *Principles and Methods of Sociology*. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, xxv+685 pages.
10. E. R. Groves, *An Introduction to Sociology*. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1932, xii+741 pages.

### III. AN ANALYSIS OF THE CONTENT OF SELECTED GENERAL TEXTS

#### 1. *Classification of Texts*

The bibliography of texts is given in chronological order with the notion that such an arrangement might throw some light upon the evolution of the introductory text as well as that of sociological thought in general. General shifts in sociological interest and emphasis are clearly discernible in this arrangement, although, perhaps, not as significantly as might have been anticipated.

The texts are listed by somewhat arbitrary periods. The first period seems to be rather definite and to have really ended with 1890, as no texts are listed from 1890 to 1893. Although Small and Vincent are usually credited with producing the first introductory text in sociology, this is manifestedly a historical error. They did, however, inaugurate a new era in the production of their text and rightfully should be listed at the beginning of the second, or Period B. There is no clear dividing-line between this and period C. Period B and Period C might be considered as a single period except as a matter of convenience for comparison. The most widely used texts are relatively the same for the two periods.

#### 2. *The Basis of Selection*

Thirty-two different texts have been analyzed as to the page content as presented in the following tabular arrangement. The selection of the texts was based upon data gathered from the reports of previous committees to the society and articles on the introductory course in sociology. The texts for Period B are based upon the reports of Tolman and Bernard. Those leading in Period B are also

the leaders in Period C, and the list as used is based upon more recent reports, particularly that of Baber; while the list for Period E is made up of the more recent publications which have reached the writer's desk in time for this report. Those texts selected for analysis may be identified by the numbers given to each and used in the tables.

### 3. *The Categories of Classification*

It is recognized that the most difficult aspect of any study of various books is that of reducing to simple classifications the contents which cover wide ranges of subjects. A number of different attempts in this direction were futile; but twelve were at last decided upon and the data fitted into them more readily than at first it was thought they would. No effort was made to split up different chapters, piecemeal, and insert parts of pages here and there; but only the general trends and emphasis of a chapter or the major part of it were considered. In a number of cases, it was doubtful whether a section should go under Population or under Social Organization; in others, it was doubtful whether it should be included as Social Evolution under Culture or be placed under Biological Evolution. In most cases of this sort, the chapter title was allowed to settle the dispute on the assumption that the author knew what he was writing about when he gave the title to the chapter. The categories selected and the subjects included thereunder are as follows:

#### CATEGORIES OF CLASSIFICATION

- I. Textual Techniques  
Title pages, table of contents, prefaces, maps and charts, questions, exercises, and bibliographies
- II. Sociology  
Definitions, subject matter, scope, methodology, relation to other studies, and history
- III. Geographic Factors in Society  
Human geography and human ecology
- IV. Biology  
Natural selection, struggle for existence, heredity, eugenics, biological evolution

- V. Social Organization  
Concepts of society, social groupings, community, social structure, social control agencies, social activities, social inequalities, classes, subordination, and superordination
- VI. Social Pathology  
Social reform, social work, poverty, charity, crime and criminals, social degeneration, and social disorganization
- VII. Economic Aspects of Society  
Competition, capitalism, industry, woman and child labor, occupations
- VIII. Social Psychology  
Social process, isolation, contact, interaction, conflict, association, accommodation, assimilation, imitation, communication, collective behavior, crowds, mobs, social forces
- IX. Population  
Distribution, composition, immigration, races, rural communities, villages, cities
- X. Culture  
Customs, folkways, mores, ethics, morality, law, social origins, social evolution, social development, social progress
- XI. Social Institutions  
General aspects, the state, government, nationalities, internationalism, war, the church and religion, the school and education, other institutions
- XII. The Family  
Evolution, history, modern conditions, divorce, sex

Page Distribution of Content of Selected Texts in Introductory Sociology Arranged Chronologically by Periods

		PERIOD B												1894-1907	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Totals	
B	1	67	55	14	...	26	34	...	79	51	17	...	52	396	
B	4	88	72	18	...	26	...	...	70	53	180	...	...	502	
B	7	76	20	...	...	...	82	130	...	95	...	57	32	492	
B	8	12	12	0	...	45	...	0	131	...	4	122	10	363	
B	9	34	12	28	...	79	21	94	45	...	25	74	16	427	
B	3	31	37	10	45	39	...	26	62	...	8	33	17	324	
B	12	43	89	13	...	41	67	27	52	...	53	70	10	465	
B	13	35	85	...	...	43	...	12	218	33	...	...	...	426	
		PERIOD C												1907-1919	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Totals	
C	1	65	33	...	...	36	68	16	41	15	76	77	14	405	
C	2	83	40	14	...	...	88	28	99	...	41	82	43	594	
C	3	61	41	13	40	81	98	87	138	42	118	...	17	736	
C	4	25	12	10	4	9	62	36	28	20	19	34	24	345	
C	9	23	20	...	28	...	54	17	19	116	37	...	102	416	
		PERIOD D												1920-1923	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Totals	
D	2	51	...	7	...	174	44	24	239	32	68	76	11	720	
D	4	169	57	4	32	81	4	12	548	33	100	...	3	1063	
D	1	58	16	19	17	37	123	...	34	132	31	74	57	608	
D	10	145	24	38	50	46	117	...	52	106	93	331	14	1016	
D	12	58	7	6	16	6	47	...	36	42	62	38	46	383	
D	13	244	4	...	...	...	63	247	55	14	...	56	683		
D	14	92	50	5	0	...	26	20	49	26	81	78	12	448	
D	15	206	6	89	86	77	88	35	60	40	230	14	19	950	
D	17	47	42	19	41	75	...	30	121	10	76	88	23	572	
D	18	44	31	46	217	...	...	...	55	...	305	...	76	773	
D	19	92	83	14	...	...	123	17	97	7	77	46	20	576	
D	22	110	16	51	24	55	51	42	272	92	35	85	39	872	

Page Distribution of Content Selected Tests in Introductory Sociology Arranged Chronologically by Periods

		PERIOD B												1930 1932	
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total	
A	1	99	...	16	13	...	34	...	69	64	238	122	31	698	
	3	82	50	22	...	27	132	31	129	20	67	96	46	702	
	5	163	20	19	29	...	169	20	113	161	35	68	48	851	
	6	51	16	21	48	...	86	17	63	29	174	17	43	585	
	7	76	34	14	124	113	78	76	109	46	95	35	14	813	
B	9	150	33	18	43	33	31	46	108	108	43	49	48	710	
	10	105	91	21	...	...	136	22	185	16	110	10	37	783	
TOTALS FOR THE PERIODS															
B		385	383	87	45	299	264	268	667	214	470	247	126	3395	
C		317	186	37	72	126	370	184	725	193	791	193	200	2494	
D		1336	336	298	492	551	631	331	1800	592	1886	521	234	8670	
E		716	244	131	257	259	576	212	725	413	722	497	204	3062	
C Total		2754	1149	553	866	1235	1783	1025	3617	1084	2968	1418	929	19661	

I. Textual techniques; II. Sociology; III. Geographic factors; IV. Biological factors; V. Social organization; VI. Social pathology; VII. Economics and industry; VIII. Social psychology; IX. Population; X. Culture; XI. Institutions; XII. The family.

Per Cent Distribution of Content of Selected Tests in Introductory Sociology Arranged Chronologically by Periods

		PERIOD B													
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	Total	
B	1	17.0	14.0	3.5	...	6.6	8.6	...	19.9	12.9	4.3	...	13.1	100	
	3	17.3	14.4	2.6	...	5.2	...	...	14.0	10.2	36.0	...	...	100	
	4	15.4	4.0	...	...	...	16.7	26.4	...	19.2	...	11.6	6.7	100	
	7	3.3	3.3	2.5	...	12.4	...	2.3	38.1	1.1	23.6	5.2	...	100	
	8	7.7	2.8	6.6	...	18.5	5.0	22.0	19.6	...	5.8	17.3	3.7	100	
B	12	9.0	11.4	3.1	13.9	...	12.1	8.0	19.0	2.5	10.2	5.2	5.0	100	
	13	9.2	19.2	2.8	...	8.7	14.4	5.8	11.2	...	11.4	15.1	2.2	100	
PERIOD C															
C	1	16.0	5.2	...	...	...	16.8	3.9	10.1	3.7	18.6	18.9	3.4	100	
	2	14.0	13.5	2.3	...	6.0	14.9	4.7	16.6	...	6.9	13.8	2.2	100	
	3	8.3	5.6	1.8	...	5.5	11.0	13.3	11.8	5.7	16.0	...	2.3	100	
	4	24.8	3.5	2.0	...	1.2	2.6	18.1	10.5	8.1	5.8	5.6	9.9	100	
	9	6.6	4.8	...	...	6.7	...	12.9	4.1	4.8	...	27.9	8.9	100	
PERIOD D															
D	2	7.0	...	1.0	...	24.0	6.0	3.3	32.9	4.4	9.4	10.5	1.5	100	
	4	17.8	5.3	0.4	3.0	7.6	0.4	1.2	51.5	3.1	9.4	...	0.3	100	
	1	0.6	2.6	3.1	2.8	6.1	21.9	...	5.6	21.7	5.1	12.2	9.3	100	
	10	14.3	2.4	3.7	4.9	4.5	11.6	5.1	10.4	9.1	32.6	1.4	...	100	
	12	15.2	1.8	1.6	4.2	1.6	12.2	9.4	11.0	16.2	9.9	12.0	4.9	100	
D	13	35.7	0.6	...	...	...	...	...	9.2	36.2	8.0	2.0	...	100	
	14	20.5	11.2	1.1	2.0	...	5.8	4.5	11.0	3.8	18.1	17.4	2.6	100	
D	15	21.7	0.6	9.4	9.1	8.1	9.3	3.7	6.2	4.2	24.2	1.5	2.0	100	
	17	8.3	7.3	3.3	7.2	13.1	...	5.2	21.1	1.7	13.4	15.1	4.0	100	
D	18	6.7	4.0	6.0	28.1	...	...	...	7.1	...	39.4	...	9.7	100	
	19	16.0	14.4	2.4	...	...	21.3	3.0	16.8	1.2	13.4	8.0	4.5	100	
	22	12.6	1.8	5.9	2.8	6.3	5.8	4.8	31.2	10.5	4.0	9.8	4.5	100	
PERIOD E															
E	1	14.4	...	2.4	2.0	...	5.0	...	10.0	9.0	34.7	17.7	4.8	100	
	3	18.4	2.3	2.2	3.4	...	19.4	2.3	13.2	18.9	4.1	19.2	5.6	100	
	5	11.7	7.1	3.1	...	3.8	18.8	4.4	18.4	2.9	9.6	11.7	6.5	100	
	6	8.7	2.7	3.6	8.2	14.7	...	...	14.2	5.0	29.7	10.9	7.1	100	
	7	9.3	4.2	1.7	15.2	13.8	9.5	9.3	13.3	8.6	11.7	4.2	2.2	100	
E	9	21.1	4.7	2.6	6.0	4.6	4.4	6.5	15.2	15.2	6.0	16.9	16.8	100	
	10	13.9	12.1	2.8	...	...	18.1	2.9	20.6	2.1	14.9	8.0	4.9	100	
TOTALS FOR THE PERIODS															
B		11.4	11.3	2.6	1.4	8.8	6.0	8.8	49.1	7.2	12.7	7.0	3.7	100	
C		12.7	7.5	1.5	2.9	5.1	14.5	7.4	13.7	7.7	11.2	7.7	8.1	100	
D		15.5	3.9	3.5	5.7	6.4	7.3	3.8	21.6	6.7	16.0	8.0	3.9	100	
E		14.1	4.7	2.6	5.0	5.1	11.1	4.2	15.4	8.7	15.0	9.2	5.1	100	
Total		13.9	6.9	2.9	4.4	6.2	9.0	5.4	16.66	7.0	14.7	7.3	4.7	100	

I. Textual techniques; II. Sociology; III. Geographic factors; IV. Biological factors; V. Social organization; VI. Social pathology; VII. Economics and industry; VIII. Social psychology; IX. Population; X. Culture; XI. Institutions; XII. The family.

IV. OBSERVATIONS BASED UPON THE BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND  
TABULATIONS

There has been a steady increase in the output of texts designed for the introductory course, or which found such use. In the complete bibliography, Period B, covering fourteen years, is credited with 26 texts or a little better than 2 each year. Period C, covering twelve years, has 36 texts or 3 per year. Period D, covering ten years, has 73 texts or better than 7 per year. Period E, covering the last three years, has 20 texts or about 7 per year.

Introductory textbooks have increased in size. Those selected for analysis in Period B average 424 pages; Period C, 499 pages; Period D, 722 pages; Period E, 726 pages. This may be in part a reaction to the standard set by Park and Burgess at the beginning of the third period. It is in part due to a general enlargement of textbooks for college use. All in all, more than 80,000 pages have been written and published in the endeavor to elucidate sociology for the beginning student. As the field of sociology has broadened and developed, it seems that the introductory textbook writers have become possessed with the notion that the entire scope and ramification of the subject must in some manner be compressed into a single volume and given to the beginner in some sort of broken doses.

The tabular analysis of the thirty-two books considered reveals that the development of sociological thought and changes in sociological emphasis become reflected in the introductory texts. This is especially to be noted in the different editions of the same text. Each revision tends to reflect the changes and newer emphasis of sociological thinking.

The personal notions and views of the authors are not without emphasis in the texts that they produce. In some cases, this results in rather lopsided productions, such as in the Hanks text which devotes an unusual amount of space

to biological and social evolution. The doubling of the emphasis of the biological aspects of the study in Period D and E over that of B and C may be in some way related to the general controversies between religion and science which have been in process for the past fifteen years. On the other hand, other texts are written with an avowed religious bias, such as those intended for the Catholic schools; while still others reflect the social reformer's bias.

Until the study was made, the writer held the opinion that far more space was devoted to the geographic, biological, and economic factors in society than was found to be the case. These three categories (III, IV, VII) account for only 12.7 per cent of the total space. Social pathology (VI) also occupies less than anticipated. Those familiar with sociological development will not be surprised by the growth in emphasis in the categories of social psychology (VIII) and culture (X). Their development seems to be in harmony with general trends in social thought.

No clearly defined objectives for the introductory course are discernible in the textbooks examined. Textbook writers, publishing houses, and teachers do not seem to have very definite notions as to what the introductory course is for, nor what the introductory text is intended to accomplish. Lack of uniformity in this regard is probably the most serious fault in textbook production; but is possibly only a reflection of general lack of uniformity in sociological thinking. Obviously there can be little agreement in the content of texts until some agreement is arrived at as to what should be accomplished by them.

In spite of the wide variation in the use of introductory texts and a general lack of agreement as to the specific content that should be included in them, there is discernible in the tabular analysis a certain harmony and general uniformity which, particularly if certain of the more one-sided texts are omitted, has been increasing from period to



period. The trends towards a standardization, although lacking in concreteness and definiteness of objectives, seem to be acquiring through the old trial and error method some general lines of direction and at the present to be gaining considerable momentum. It seems at the present an entirely feasible undertaking for the Society through this or some other committee to erect some sort of a standard upon which the introductory course might be rated for transfer credit from one college to another. This does not mean that the Society should in any fashion establish itself as an accrediting agency for any specific text; but only that it may be possible in the near future to work out a minimum standard of requirements which would be generally recognized and serve as a guide to conscientious teachers and writers of texts. When sociologists are able to reach such an agreement and at least bring the introductory course to a worthy degree of standardization, they will have taken a long step towards gaining that recognition in the college curriculum that the subject justly deserves.

# SUMMARY OF FINDINGS ON THE PRESENT STATUS OF THE INTRODUCTORY COURSE IN SOCIOLOGY, AND CONCLUSIONS

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Ohio State University

The first outstanding impression that comes from a reading of the reports from the various groups of institutions is that the theory on which the Committee was constituted was not borne out by the findings. It was thought that conditions in different types of institutions are so diverse that varying types of introductory courses must be expected. A study of the findings, however, shows that this is not generally the case. Many differences were found from institution to institution. But the differences did not follow the lines of division on which the institutions were grouped. It is evident that there is a striking similarity in most of the general conclusions reached by the different members of the Committee. That is, apparently the same general type of problem confronts the teacher of the elementary course in sociology in one type of institution as in another. The large university, the church or small endowed college, the agricultural college, the teachers college, the women's college, all apparently present much the same general situation when it comes to providing instruction in elementary sociology.

There is one exception to this in those institutions which have a distinct religious foundation or definite religious tradition. In these there is more frequently found some pressure, not necessarily administrative, on the instructor to give recognition to ethical and melioristic questions to a greater extent than is experienced by the instructor in other institutions. But with this exception the introductory sociology course as taught in different groups of institutions did not appear to present any peculiarities that could be associated with the type of institution. The findings of the Committee may therefore be discussed as applying generally

to all parts of the country and all types of institutions.

We may proceed, then, to note the more significant conclusions to be drawn from the findings.

### I. LENGTH OF COURSE

The two prevailing types of course, with respect to length, are three hours for one semester or five hours for one quarter, and three hours for two semesters or five hours for two quarters, that is 54 to 60 class periods, and 108 to 120 class periods. Of the two the one-semester or one-quarter course occurs about 50 per cent more often than the two-term course. In many cases where the two-term course is given, the second term is devoted to practical social problems.

It would appear, therefore, that in any consideration of the content of the introductory course, it would be best to have in mind a one-semester or one-quarter course of 54 to 60 class periods (including examinations). This would meet the situation for that largest number of institutions who have a one-term course only, and would fit the first half of the course for most of those institutions who have a two-term period.

### 2. PREREQUISITES

In over half the institutions reporting, a student to be eligible must have sophomore or higher standing. In 81 institutions the student must have attained junior standing. Only 23 institutions reported admitting freshmen to the introductory course. This means that except in a very small percentage of cases the classes are made up of sophomores and upperclassmen, with the sophomores in the majority in the greater number of institutions. A very small number reported freshmen orientation courses in the social sciences.

Approximately 20 per cent of the institutions require specific course prerequisites. When these are designated, the most common are history, economics, psychology, biology.

### 3. OBJECTIVES

The question concerning the objectives of the course called forth a great variety of answers. It appears at first glance that the variety is so great that there is no unity of objective to be found. When, however, the different objectives as stated are classified and allowance made for differences in the form of statement, it is evident that they fall into five definite groups. Listed in the order of their frequency the five groups of objectives are as follows:

a) To inform and instruct the student concerning the nature of society. This includes such objectives as: to acquaint the student with the nature of the social life going on about him; to develop an understanding of social institutions and social processes; to give the student a technique for analyzing and classifying social phenomena, and for studying communities and other social groups.

b) To develop scientific attitudes. These attitudes are described as objective attitudes; freedom from biases and prejudices; ability to suspend judgment until facts are available.

c) To prepare the student for advanced sociological study. This is to be done through (1) stimulating his interest in the subject, and (2) laying intellectual foundations through the acquisition of terminology and fundamental concepts.

d) To prepare the student for more effective social living. This would include the development of a sympathetic interest in the social life about him; the development of a desire to participate usefully in social life; a better adjustment of his personal problems and social relations.

e) To prepare the student for vocational training. The two vocational fields in the minds of those instructors who hold to this objective are teaching and social work.

The first two groups of objectives seem to be held, in some form or another, by practically all of the teachers of introductory sociology. To instruct the student in the nature of society, to guide his thinking about social situa-

tions, and to develop scientific attitudes, appear to occupy the most prominent place in the purposes of teachers. The third group of objectives, preparation for advanced courses, appears most prominently in the departments of large universities. This can be easily understood. These departments naturally look to the elementary course as the source from which their advanced students are to come. It is inevitable that this purpose shall bulk largely in the point of view of all those departments who have rather extensive advanced offerings.

The colleges with definite religious traditions are the ones in which there appear most prominently the objectives which have to do with preparing the student for more effective social living. The following statement in Professor Garwood's report on the liberal-arts colleges of the West and Middle West is significant: "Sociology is conceived, on the one hand, as a body of knowledge furnishing materials for the solution of concrete life and social problems, and as emotionally conditioning the future citizen to react in approved ways to such problems, and on the other hand, sociology is conceived as a science, a body of truth, desirable as a mode of understanding a kind of reality. The replies indicate that the colleges we are here concerned with are preponderantly in favor of the first alternative. Only incidentally are they concerned with making scholars and producing research sociologists." The reports coming from the group of Catholic colleges and universities show a very similar emphasis on the same point of view.

The development of departments of sociology in teachers colleges and the growth of professional schools of social work whose students are recruited from the liberal-arts colleges explain the interest of many departments of sociology in providing their students with a foundation for teaching or for social work.

#### 4. TOPICAL OUTLINES AND TEXTBOOKS

It is unnecessary here to repeat the summarization of the textbook situation which has been adequately done by

Professor Meroney. He finds that "no clearly defined objectives for the introductory course are discernible in the textbooks examined," and that this lack is "possibly only a reflection of general lack of uniformity in sociological thinking." It is significant, however, that "in spite of the wide variation in the use of introductory texts and a general lack of agreement as to the specific content that should be included in them, there is discernible in the tabular analysis a certain harmony and general uniformity which . . . has been increasing from period to period."

The returns on the questionnaires concerning the content of the course, as indicated by a topical outline, were not of a kind that makes summarization possible. In a majority of the cases the topical outline that was given follows that of the textbook used. The amount of time devoted to each main division was rarely given, although the indications are that in most cases the chapters of the text are followed in consecutive order, the proportion of time given to each division of the subject following the emphasis of the author of the text. It thus appears that the textbook chosen determines to a very considerable degree the content of the course and the emphasis placed on the different divisions of the subject. Professor Fairchild's statement that "at the present moment our textbook writers are the arbiters of the elementary course," seems scarcely too strong a characterization of the situation.

## 5. TERMINOLOGY

Each instructor was asked to list 25 to 50 of the principal concepts which it was believed a student completing the introductory course should be able to understand and use. The replies brought out, in addition to concepts, many terms which are not, in the strict sense, concepts but which are terms used in the course. It seems best, therefore, to treat this section of the replies as the terminology of the introductory course. These lists of terms furnish abundant evidence concerning the wide variation in the content

of the course as taught. The reports of the different members of the Committee all indicate an exceedingly wide variation in terminology. From one group of 54 colleges came as many as 233 different terms, of which no term was used by more than 14 of the 54 instructors. Over 70 per cent of the 233 terms were mentioned by no more than two instructors. A similar situation is indicated in all the reports. It appears clear that there is little unity in the fundamental sociological terminology.

#### 6. NAMES OF SOCIOLOGICAL WRITERS

Each instructor was asked to list the names of sociological and other writers with whom it was thought students in the introductory course should be made familiar. The replies to this question brought out as striking diversity as did that on terminology. All the reports on the different groups of colleges agree in the long lists of names that were mentioned. From one group of colleges came 206 names and several other groups reported over one hundred names. Obviously many of these names are not those of sociological writers. Jewish prophets, medieval philosophers, physicists, biologists, journalists, clergymen, and many other types of occupations appear in the lists. Practically all the American sociological writers appear in one or another list, and a dozen or more of them on a large number of lists. That so many instructors should regard it important to familiarize the student with such a great variety of names seems to indicate that they are not very clear as to just what ideas constitute the fundamentals of sociology. The emphasis on particular sociological writers also seems to indicate that there are still a number of schools of thought in sociology, to be identified with the names of different writers.

#### 7. METHODS OF TEACHING AND ADMINISTRATION

No very significant data appear in the findings concerning methods and administration. Lectures, discussion, quiz, assigned reports appear in all the groups of colleges indis-

criminally. Both lecture and discussion are mentioned by the great majority of instructors in all groups. Probably the same returns would be received from an inquiry into the methods of teaching any other of the social sciences. In the larger departments where several instructors are required for the introductory course, two types of administration appear: (a) One person in charge of the course gives the lectures while others, usually younger instructors, conduct discussion and quiz sections. (b) Different instructors take entire charge of separate sections, a minimum of unity being generally secured by the use of the same text and conferences of instructors. In such a system there appears to be considerable autonomy on the part of the instructors in the methods used and emphasis given.

#### 8. PERSONNEL

The data relating to the teaching of the introductory course show that it has not been left to the less experienced teachers. In the smaller colleges there are generally no more than one or two instructors in the department; in the larger universities of the Middle West and West, 31 institutions reporting had 112 instructors teaching the introductory course. Of these 27 were professors, 21 assistant professors, 12 associate professors, 17 instructors. In most institutions it appeared that the course was in charge of a man of the rank of professor or assistant professor.

The degrees of the instructors were not reported in all cases. For those reporting, the table below will indicate the degrees in the different groups of colleges.

	Number instructors reported	Ph.D.	A.M. or M.S.	Other
Northeast area .....	74	45	27	2
Large universities Midwest and West..	112	58	37	16
Small colleges Midwest and West....	19	11	8	.
Women's colleges Midwest and West...	*	*	*	*
Agricultural colleges .....	25	11	13	1
Teachers colleges .....	39	12	21	6
Catholic colleges .....	*	12	94	—
Negro colleges .....	28	2	18	4

\*Not reported



In the institutions of the Northeast area, the large universities and the small colleges of the Middle West and West, the number of instructors teaching the introductory course who have the Ph.D. degree is slightly over one half the total number; the number having the master's degree slightly over one third. The other groups of colleges show a somewhat smaller proportion of higher degrees. In most of the reports it is indicated that a considerable proportion of those having the master's degree are continuing their graduate work towards the doctorate.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Probably the most significant conclusion that may be derived from the above data is the lack of a body of definite ideas that might be regarded as the fundamentals of sociology. A science that hopes to maintain a definite place among other scientific disciplines should be able to lay claim to such a body of fundamental ideas. It is the belief of the Committee that a careful analysis of the writings of sociologists will reveal a considerable group of these fundamentals. But the content of the elementary course, as taught at present, does not reveal them. And the continuance of such a wide variety of offerings under the title of introductory sociology, as now prevails, leaves both college students and representatives of other disciplines confused as to whether such a body of fundamental ideas exists. The position of sociology among other sciences and the training of students in the essentials of the subject would be greatly advanced if we could hasten the recognition of such a body of fundamental notions.

The extent to which the introductory course is dominated by the textbook writers makes it difficult to develop a high degree of unity in what is taught in different institutions. While the increasing degree of agreement among the more recent texts, as indicated by the report, is hopeful, it is still true that texts reflect to a considerable extent the existence of schools of sociological thought. This degree of variance between the texts in use, together with

the somewhat slavish adherence to texts, appears to leave us without any unified body of ideas that can be pointed to as the fundamentals of sociology. The textbook writers themselves need the guidance of some such body of fundamental ideas.

It is true, as indicated above, that, given a sufficiently long period of time, such a body of fundamentals would gradually gain such universal recognition as to be given a place in all standard textbooks. But it is the belief of the Committee that the place of sociology as a scientific discipline can be greatly improved by some effort to hasten the recognition of these ideas which, it is believed, are held by a large proportion of sociologists.

Closely connected with this conclusion concerning the need for the recognition of a body of fundamental sociological ideas is the further conclusion that this lack is reflected in the absence of a common sociological terminology. This is clearly shown by the fact that out of the hundreds of terms with which instructors thought students should be made familiar, so few could be found that were mentioned by any considerable number of instructors. Common ideas and a common terminology go together. It is the belief of the Committee that both may be hastened by some effort to reach agreement on them.

A third conclusion to be derived from a reading of the returns is that objectives are not clearly enough defined in the minds of the instructors. While there is no direct evidence in the returns concerning the extent to which clear-cut and definite objectives are held, the impression is gained from many replies that objectives exist in the minds of the instructors only in a rather vague and indefinite form. When the various objectives as stated by the instructors are analyzed and classified they do give a basis for the formulation of definite goals at which to aim, as indicated above.

While objectives are influenced to a considerable degree by one's philosophy of education, it would appear that if

sociology is to maintain a position of dignity among scientific disciplines it is important that instructors should have clearly in mind at least the two groups of objectives that were most frequently mentioned; namely, to instruct the student in the nature of society, its fundamental processes and institutions, and in the nature and significance of group life for the individual; and (2) to develop such attitudes towards the study of human behavior as will free the student from prejudices and biases, and lead him to base his opinions and conclusions on careful factual procedure. And since such a large proportion of the students in the introductory course are taking it primarily as a preparation for citizenship, many instructors will want to keep in mind those aims that center about the development in the student of a sympathetic interest in the social life about him and a capacity for useful participation in it. It does not need to be emphasized that there will always be present in teaching the introductory course the aim of laying foundations for advanced courses in sociology.

Finally, we may conclude that an emphasis on the names of a great variety of thinkers drawn from all fields of thought, together with an emphasis on the names of modern sociological writers, is hardly consistent with the setting forth of the fundamentals of a particular science. Such emphasis indicates a lack of clarity as to what constitutes the elements of sociology and also an adherence to schools of sociological thought. Emphasis on the contributions to human thought by a great variety of thinkers, ancient and modern, is liable to leave the student greatly confused as to the relation of the special contribution of sociology to human thought in general. And special emphasis on the contributions of particular sociological writers tends to the perpetuation of schools of sociology. The elementary student is primarily in need of fundamental and widely accepted ideas, regardless of their source. The contributions of particular writers is the proper subject matter for advanced students.

## RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE COMMITTEE

The Committee in presenting the following recommendations to the American Sociological Society has three definite purposes in mind.

1. It hopes to reduce the *great variation in the training of elementary students*. It believes that the transfer of students from one institution to another would result in a considerably smaller loss of time on the part of the student than at present, and that advanced work would be greatly facilitated if the satisfactory completion of an elementary course would carry some guarantee of what the student has mastered. It also believes that for those students who take no more than one or two courses in sociology, it is desirable that there be some agreement as to what sociology has to contribute to their thinking. Those who have had no more than elementary instruction in sociology should be able to recognize sociological ideas as such, no matter by whom expressed.

2. The Committee believes, however, that it is of still greater importance that sociologists should be making more definite progress towards the integration of the fundamental ideas of the science, for the sake of the place of sociology among other scientific disciplines, and for the sake of making the largest possible contribution to modern thought. There is little doubt that the present lack of definiteness concerning the fundamentals of the science is a source of some embarrassment and of some loss of effectiveness.

3. The Committee further desires to bring to sharper focus the objective of developing sociology as a definite scientific discipline. It believes that while the development of ethical attitudes and capacities for personal adjustment to one's social environment on the part of students is a desirable by-product of the teaching of sociology, nevertheless the direct approach must be through a scientific study of the phenomena of society and the inculcation of definite scientific attitudes in the students' thinking. It believes that this objective can best be realized through the recognition of a definite body of scientific data as the subject matter of sociology.

The Committee is convinced, however, that if these purposes are to be realized, the time element in the development of the field and content of a science must be taken into account. It realizes that no forcing of standardization is feasible or desirable. It believes that we should begin with a recognition of what unity of thought now exists, and it believes that sufficient unity does now exist for formulating a minimum of the fundamental ideas of sociology and a short list of commonly used terms. With

such a beginning we believe the way will be made easier for more rapid progress towards the definition of the field and scope and essential contributions of sociology.

With these ideas in mind the Committee has attempted to arrive at a formulation of a minimum content of the introductory course and a short list of the more commonly used terms to be recommended to all teachers of the course. The following method was used in arriving at this content: Thirty-two experienced teachers of sociology were selected from a long list of members of the Society to whom we might submit a request for coöperation in formulating the minimum content. From the 318 questionnaires which had been previously returned, 70 were selected out of the hundreds of terms which were mentioned most frequently. To the 32 selected teachers of sociology we sent these 70 terms, and asked them to check those which they believed that students completing an elementary course should be able to understand and use, and to add any others which they believed should be included. We also asked these 32 teachers to indicate the topics which they believed should constitute at least 70 per cent of the introductory course.

From these 32 experienced teachers, 25 replies were received. From these replies we have selected the 60 terms *most frequently checked in the list of 70*. And guided by the suggestions concerning topics for inclusion in the course, we have made up the brief outline of minimum content which appears below.

It should be clearly recognized that the Committee is not here presenting primarily its own ideas concerning the content of the elementary course. It is presenting the 60 terms which at present have the widest usage among teachers of sociology, and the topical content which appears to have the most extensive acceptance by mature and recognized sociologists.

The organization of the topics is a matter of pedagogical method to be determined by the instructor, and some variation in terms used in these topics is to be ex-

pected. It is intended only that the ideas indicated by these topics constitute at least approximately 70 per cent of an introductory course.

With respect to the list of 60 terms, the method of teaching them must be a matter entirely of individual choice on the part of the instructor. Probably few, if any, would present them as a list whose definitions were to be learned. Some would make special topics of the terms while others would treat them only incidentally in connection with larger topics. The Committee has in mind only the point that on completion of any introductory course, a student should be able to use at least these terms intelligently in any discussion of human behavior. There is nothing significant in the number 60. It happens to be the number on which wide unanimity already exists. Most instructors will desire to add to the list.

The Committee recommends the adoption of the following:

The American Sociological Society recommends that in any introductory course in sociology, consisting of from 50 to 60 class periods, at least 70 per cent of the attention be given to the following topics, the particular organization of the topics to be determined by the instructor.

*I. Groups and group life*

Social bonds, their nature and variety

The principal types of social groupings, as community, class, nation, state, voluntary associations, crowds, the primary group, in-group, out-group, etc.

Human life as group life

Collective behavior

*II. The fundamental social processes*

The nature of isolation, of contact, and interaction; communication; conflict and competition; accommodation; assimilation; cooperation; differentiation, etc.

*III. Man's cultural heritage*

The nature of culture

Its origin in adjustment to environment

Geographic environment and culture

Invention, diffusion, accumulation, culture borrowing, or fusion  
 The elements of culture and their significance for social life,  
 such as language, folkways, mores or codes or standards, religion,  
 science, material elements

*IV. Social organization and structure*

The nature of social institutions  
 The principal institutions, such as the family, the economic organization,  
 the state, the school, the church, recreational organizations  
 The functions of these institutions and their significance for human behavior

*V. Social change*

Society as an evolving process  
 The nature and causes of social change  
 Social lag and its significance  
 Problems of readjustment created by change  
 Social disorganization

*VI. Society and the individual*

The biological-psychological equipment of the individual  
 Wishes, attitudes, instincts  
 The rôle of the environment  
 The development of the human personality through social life  
 The reciprocal relation of social and individual  
 Social control and guidance  
 Personal disorganization

It is further recommended that students completing the introductory course should be able to understand and use intelligently at least the following terms:

accommodation	conflict	ethnocentrism
adaptation	contact	folkways
adjustment	coöperation	geographic determin-
amalgamation	crowd	ism
assimilation	cultural change	geographic or physical
association	cultural lag	or natural environ-
attitude	culture	ment
behavior pattern	culture area	group
caste	culture complex	human nature
collective behavior	culture pattern	imitation
competition	culture trait	instinct
community	custom	invention
communication	diffusion	institution
conditioned response	disorganization	isolation

leadership	social class	social interaction
mores	social control	social organization
personality	social distance	social process
primary group	social or psychic or socialization	
progress	cultural environment	status
race	social evolution	stratification
secondary group	social heritage or	values
society	inheritance	

H. P. Fairchild

W. E. Gettys

H. G. Duncan

J. M. Reinhardt

F. R. Yoder

W. P. Meroney

Bertram W. Doyle

L. E. Garwood

Florence W. Schaper

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Valeria K. Huppeler

Cecil C. North

*Chairman*



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## EDITORIAL

Civilized societies create schools to promote, not all learnings, but only certain kinds which are believed to be both difficult to ensure and highly valuable in results.

But what are the learnings which are so hard to acquire and so precious that the expensive agencies of schools and teachers are essential to their achievement? For centuries that query has been answered in terms of social customs and philosophical beliefs. But answers so derived no longer suffice any more than similarly derived guidances suffice in medicine, agriculture, or engineering.

What "learnings" are of most worth in a time when civilization's geometrically accumulating culture presses upon our schools ten or a hundred times more apparently valuable possibilities of learnings than our learners can by any possibility assimilate?

Scientific hypotheses and findings in answer to that query can be derived only from social-science foundations. In an immediate and superficial sense the values of learnings may seem to be largely personal. But more critical consideration will show that the functionings of learnings towards economic success, civic competency, moral behaviors, cultural enrichments, and the other controls and achievements of "the good life" are mostly social. Only by incessant reference to the social conditions and opportunities

likely to confront our learners during the next half-century can we determine what are for them, in their several varieties, learnings of probably the greatest worth.

Hence, the editor of this number of *THE JOURNAL OF EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY* has sought to assemble a series of papers dealing primarily with problems of educational values. Especially has he urged contributors to suggest and illustrate techniques by which such values might now be estimated or be presently more accurately determined. If the results do not seem to fulfill all expectations of the reader, he must take that as evidence not only of the immaturity of the applied science of educational sociology, but even more of the complexity of that important branch of educational sociology which will some time be called the science of educational values.

DAVID SNEDDEN

## SOME TECHNIQUES FOR THE QUANTITATIVE STUDY OF VALUES OF LEARNINGS

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In this article we shall briefly illustrate certain techniques for the quantitative investigation of the problem of values of learnings with studies made under the writer's direction at the Pennsylvania State College. Apart from the cumbersome involved, the title might better be *Some Penn State Studies Illustrating Techniques for the Quantitative Investigation of Values of Learnings*.

1. There is, first, the type of investigation that attempts to determine what particular learnings are needed for meeting the detailed situations encountered in life. Hundreds of such investigations have been made, analyzing different areas. Illustrative ones are abstracted in Rugg's *Curriculum Studies in the Social Sciences and Citizenship*, Bobbitt's *Curriculum Investigations*, Curtis's *A Digest of Investigations in the Teaching of Science*, and Shorling's *A Tentative List of Objectives in Junior High School Mathematics*. As a concrete example of such study, we mention an investigation of the "French Vocabulary, Grammar, and Phonetics to be Taught to Enable Pupils to Read Current Literature Intelligently" (Margaret L. Kretchman, master's thesis, 1932). Miss Kretchman examined 15,000,000 running words in 6 American newspapers, 5 magazines, and 3 novels in order to discover what French words, idioms, and grammatical constructions were encountered in them. She found 1,205 different French words, with an aggregate frequency of 8,810. That indicates an average of one unnaturalized French word for each 1,700 running words. Three hundred and fifty-eight different idioms were met, with frequencies ranging from 1 to 94. A classification of the words and the idioms by frequency and an analysis of the phonetic and grammatical elements showed which are the most important items for a course in French

as far as the particular objective of understanding references in popular English literature is concerned.

2. Next, having a certain indirect bearing upon our problem, is the analysis of textbooks, courses of study, and other evidences of school offerings, to determine what they attempt to do to promote valuable learnings. Here again a large number of studies have been made. We shall choose one by J. W. C. Remaley as an example (master's thesis, 1931). Mr. Remaley undertook to compare the aims of general science with the content of recent textbooks in that subject. In order to get objective evidence on what the alleged aims of this subject are, he analyzed 96 journal articles on aims and values of general science and counted the frequency with which each aim or value was alleged. This yielded a list of 62 different aims with frequencies of 2 or more, which were classified under 16 broader types. Next he analyzed 9 recent texts in general science and made a showing of their distribution of space to topics and to types of topics. This display was very detailed, the list of items with their frequencies for each of the books and for all combined covering 125 typewritten pages. Then Mr. Remaley surveyed this factual showing of what the texts offer in comparison with the alleged aims of the subject in order to determine to what degree the texts seem adapted to the pursuit of the asserted objectives.

Similar studies of ours of this general type are: Morgan on the content of textbooks in biology, Henshaw on the content of high-school chemistry texts in relation to problems of the home, Stock on algebra texts, Bingham on supplementary reading material in Latin, Altman on the content of standardized tests in American history in relation to social objectives, and Winn on the material in women's magazines relating to marital problems.

3. A third type of study seeks an answer to the question: What learnings do pupils actually apply in life? Mr. C. E. Whipple gives an example of such research (master's thesis, 1930). He sought to learn what elements of physics (processes, laws, concepts, etc.) are applied in control or

interpretative uses by students who are taking a course in physics in high school. One technique involved having pupils keep diaries in which they noted each day the applications they had found themselves making of materials learned in physics—whether these were applications in control or in interpretation. A second technique involved placing before the students at the end of the course a long list of the facts, laws, and concepts that had been taught and asking the pupils to indicate opposite each the frequency with which they believed they had had occasion to use that item since learning it, either for purposes of control or of interpretation. The categories were: none, little, occasional, considerable, and great. These verbal terms were then given numerical weights by the investigator and indices of frequency of use determined for the several items by averaging the moments corresponding to the words checked by the pupils. From the first technique a list of 177 different items was obtained with frequencies ranging from 1 to 121. A few of the topics, with their respective frequencies, most applied in practice were: electric motors, 121; electric lights, 93; telephones, 82; air pumps, 15; ammeter, 15; refrigeration, 14. From the second technique accrued utility indices for a long list of items. Mr. Whipple found close agreement between the findings by his two techniques and for two different schools in which the investigation was conducted. For the second technique the reliability coefficient of the index values was .945.

4. A fourth form of investigation is analogous to the second technique by Whipple but better controlled. It is best illustrated from a study by Robert P. Wray (doctoral dissertation, 1932). Dr. Wray investigated the relative functioning value of items in chemistry education in affording pleasures of recognition. He made practically exhaustive lists of the facts and laws likely to be taught in courses in high-school chemistry, aggregating 1,500 items. These he submitted to various groups of people who had studied chemistry some time in their previous careers: high-school students, college students, physicians, teachers,

engineers, business men, housekeepers, etc. Each person was asked to check in a column one of 5 words indicating how frequently he had had occasion to use this item in interpreting what he encountered in his environment or in his reading and, in a parallel set of columns, the degree of satisfaction he had experienced in making such interpretations by reason of a knowledge of the item. Medians of the frequency values were then computed for the item for each type group responding, and, similarly, medians for satisfaction values. These two medians were multiplied together for an index value of the item for the group. Thus a measure for the functioning of the knowledge in interpretation was derived for each of the 1,500 items for as many type groups as participated in the study.

It was found, however, that the different type groups agreed with one another so closely regarding relative values that it seemed unnecessary to continue using more than one group. The intergroup correlations, when corrected for attenuation, averaged .896 on list of items number 1 and .849 on list number 2. For the remaining 13 lists of items, therefore, responses were sought for only student groups. The reliabilities for the index values were very high, the coefficients being around .95. By correlation with other criteria, Dr. Wray's findings show collateral evidence, not only of high reliability, but also of satisfactory validity.

Other investigations of ours involving essentially the same technique are: Himes in biology, Aber in chemistry, Rice in agriculture, and Lick in psychology. In spite of the fact that at first we feared this technique as too subjective, it has proved in all of our applications to give remarkably high reliabilities and high validities where groups of respondents of 30 or more individuals were used.

5. The fifth technique is controlled experimentation. This may be illustrated by a study by Miss Alice K. Milson to ascertain whether systematically teaching courtesy in the junior high school causes measurable changes in the conduct of the pupils taught (seminar study, 1933). Three

experiments were made: one in the seventh grade, one in the eighth, and one in the ninth. In the seventh grade 20 girls who were to have instruction in courtesy were matched on the basis of average scholastic grade with 20 who were not to receive such instruction. In the eighth grade 16 pairs were similarly matched and in the ninth grade 22 pairs. As a measure of initial attainment in courteous conduct the pupils rated one another on a five-point scale, each pupil rating 10 girls whom she knew best, selected at random from both those who were to become the experimental group and those who were to become the control group. A score for each pupil was then obtained by averaging the ratings assigned her by her classmates. To persons who have not had experience with pupils' ratings of one another, this may seem to be a very poor means of measurement, but we have had much experience with such ratings and find them highly reliable and presumably highly valid. We shall give some evidence on this matter in the December number of this magazine.

Having matched the groups for general scholarship and having taken the initial measurements, the investigator held discussions on the technique of courtesy with the experimental groups but no such discussions with the control groups. These discussion periods were conducted weekly for a period of three months and each was of about 15 minutes duration. Other conditions were kept constant as far as possible. At the end of three months, a second set of ratings was taken similar to the first and, without further instruction, a third set at the end of another three months. In all except one comparison, the groups that had the instruction showed greater gains in courtesy ratings than the control groups. Between first and second rating periods these superior gains in steps on the five-point scale were: ninth grade, .73, eighth grade .68, and seventh grade, .42. Between first and third ratings the superior gains for the experimental groups were: ninth grade, .39, eighth grade, .76, and seventh grade, .06. Tested in comparison with their standard errors, all of these differences except two

are individually statistically significant and jointly carry high reliability. Miss Milson, therefore, concludes that in her type of population the sort of instruction in courtesy used in this experiment makes a measurable difference in the conduct of pupils. During the past academic year we have had in operation some 20 such controlled experiments on the question: Does instruction in morality function in practice? We shall give an account of these experiments in the December issue.

6. Another means of investigating the functioning of learnings is by the growth curve. Mr. William A. Herr (seminar study, 1933) determined the normal growth curve of students in the public schools of Hazleton, Pennsylvania, from the third grade to the twelfth in the vocabulary of social science. On the basis of this curve he predicted what score in such vocabulary his set of students, beginning with the seventh grade, should be expected to make at the end of the school year, and similarly what the students entering the eighth and the ninth grades should make. Then he applied to his pupils systematic teaching of vocabulary in this area and prepared to ascertain to what extent such teaching would deflect their progress from that of normal growth. While the growth curve as it had been rising on the basis of previous policy (or rather lack of constructive policy regarding social-science vocabulary) predicted for the seventh grade an average score of 50.2 words, the grade made an average of 82, a deflection of 31.8 words from the predicted position. Similarly, the eighth grade scored 81.2 instead of the predicted 70.0 and the ninth grade, 93.9 instead of the forecasted 85.3. These differences between actual scores and predicted ones were from 5.28 to 15.96 times their standard errors, so that conclusive evidence was obtained that the new policy regarding the teaching of social-science vocabulary was effective in improving these vocabulary abilities.

Studies of recent years have yielded some fascinatingly interesting facts about the curve of growth. The educational research worker now most active in this field is Dr.



S. A. Courtis. He believes that all growth curves are of substantially the same shape—S-shaped curves with the inflection in the lower loop greater than that in the upper loop, and functions of a formula employed more than a century ago by Gompertz:

$$y = \frac{1}{1 + e^{-x}}$$

Courtis has provided machinery by which the S-curves are projected on a straight line, and by which the curve for a particular set of data may readily be found and predictions made in terms of it.<sup>1</sup> Measurement of the influence of a learning factor in deflecting the growth curve should prove an effective device for studying its potency.

7. Then there is the technique of correlation. Tetrachoric correlation, involving a simple fourfold correlation chart, is especially promising in a field in which we experience difficulty in making precise measurements. Harry L. Kriner (doctoral dissertation, 1931) secured from superintendents and supervisors of instruction the names of 130 best teachers in 20 cities and, correspondingly, 130 poorest teachers in these same cities. He then collected, by interviews and from records and other sources, various facts about these teachers. These facts he organized into fourfold tables like the one on this page. The chart shows

← Success →

	b 50	a 95
Latin	80 d	35 c

<sup>1</sup>This is most fully set forth in his *Measurement of Growth* published by Brumfield and Brumfield, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1932.

a hypothetical case. Of the 130 best teachers, 95, we shall say, had had more than two years of Latin in high school and 35 had had two years or less. Of the 130 poorest, 56 had had more than two years of Latin and 80 had had two or less. The general trend of the numbers shows that there is a tendency, according to this hypothetical case, for the good teachers to have more Latin and the poor teachers to have less; that is, there is a positive correlation between success in teaching and the amount of Latin studied in high school. A numerical value for the degree of this correlation can easily be calculated. Dr. Kriner computed such coefficients of correlation for many factors in relation to success in teaching. For elementary-school teachers, a few of these  $r$ 's were: Latin carried in the secondary school, .354, French carried in the secondary school, —.146, mathematics beyond two units, .447, social studies beyond two units, —.335.

If the whole of both distributions is considered and normality of distribution may be reasonably assumed, the formula to be used is one developed by Karl Pearson:

$$r = \cos \frac{\sqrt{bc}}{\sqrt{ad} + \sqrt{bc}} 180^\circ$$

If only the tails of one of the distributions are used, as was the case in Dr. Kriner's investigation, this formula gives  $r$ 's much too high. For a number of years the writer of this article has been seeking a satisfactory formula for tetrachoric  $r$ 's where the dichotomies in one of the distributions are widespread instead of continuous, as they are in the illustration cited, for in social research it is far more convenient to deal with the extreme tails than with the whole of distributions. Within the past year he has succeeded, by the aid of a colleague from the department of mathematics, in developing such a formula by departing at a certain point near the end of the original development by Pearson.<sup>2</sup> The resultant formula, provided the tails

<sup>2</sup>Karl Pearson, "On the Correlation of Characters Not Quantitatively Measurable," *Philosophical Transactions of the [British] Royal Society, Series A*, Vol. 195, pages 1-47, especially pages 1-7.

are symmetrical—same percentage at each end—and provided the dichotomy in the unmutilated distribution is at the mean, is:

$$\frac{p\sqrt{2\pi}}{2z_k} \cdot \frac{\sqrt{ad} - \sqrt{bc}}{\sqrt{ad} + \sqrt{bc}} = r - \frac{r^3}{6}(k^3-1) + \frac{r^5}{40}(k^5-6k^3+3) - \frac{r^7}{336}(k^7-15k^5+45k^3-15) + \dots$$

where  $p$  is the percentage of the whole population remaining in either tail,  $z_k$  is the ordinate for the normal distribution of unit area and unit standard deviation at the inner boundary of the tail, and  $k$  is the distance from the mean of the distribution to the ordinate  $z_k$  in sigma units. Both of these last values can be read from a table of the integral of the normal curve, one of which is to be found in the appendix of Kelley's *Statistical Method*. In Kelley's table  $z_k$  is labeled  $z$ , and  $k$  is labeled  $x$ . If it is the middle 68 per cent of the distribution that is chopped out, leaving 16 per cent in each tail, the formula, greatly simplifies  $k$  for then  $k=1$  and all the terms containing  $r$ 's may be neglected except the first power, unless  $r$  is high. We are now setting up nomographs from which the correct  $r$  for any tail may be read directly after a solution of the equation for  $r$  to the first power, which will make the formula very easy to handle in practice. Armed with a means of computing tetrachoric correlations from widespread dichotomies, we can get at many problems hitherto impracticable. For example: Given 200 exceptionally good citizens, and an equal number of very poor ones, and being able to learn that each of these was above average or below average in each of several types of learnings, what is the relation of such learnings to good citizenship? Given 500 best teachers and 500 poorest teachers, and knowing whether each was above average or below average in professional training, or in other factors, what is the correlation between professional training or other factors and teacher-success?

Countless additional topics of that type will suggest themselves. The proof of the above formula, together with the statistical formulæ and their proofs needed for all the other procedures discussed in this article, will be published shortly in a book on advanced statistics by the writer and Mr. VanVoorhis.

8. Finally, there is the rather new technique of tetrad differences. This is too complicated to permit an attempt to explain it here to those not already acquainted with it. It is not, however, difficult to use in practice, although the arithmetic is likely to become very laborious. It must suffice here to say that the technique permits us to learn whether or not there is some common element in a number of factors and, if so, which of the factors is most saturated with that common element. Concretely put, we might determine by this technique whether there is some basic common element in liberal education and, if so, what studies are most representative of this basic element. We have not ourselves yet made any investigations with this technique involving the question of values of learnings, but an elaborately analyzed one involving this theme in some degree is set forth in Kelley's *Crossroads in the Mind of Man*.

It will be observed that in this article we have not raised at all the question of what values are "good" or "real" or "true," nor have we considered techniques even for determining what values are cherished by peoples. We have merely proposed, and briefly illustrated, a few procedures for determining what learnings contribute towards the attainment of certain objectives when once educational engineers wish to seek those objectives in the belief that they hold worth-while values. But even for the objective investigation of values, and certainly for the description of values cherished by peoples, some headway has been made and much more progress lies ahead as a future possibility.

## EDUCATIONAL VALUES: WHENCE AND WHITHER

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Since the concept of values as referred to in this paper is a sociological one, it is desirable at the start to make clear its meaning. "Values exist only in relation to desires," wrote Bouglé and added that "wherever found, a value is a *permanent possibility* of satisfactions." W. I. Thomas gave us this definition: "A value is thus any object, real or imaginary, which has a meaning and which may be the object of activity. The sum total of the values of a society is its culture." Educational values may naturally be thought of in relation to society's desires and supposedly offer permanent possibilities of satisfactions. They have meanings for society and, because of these meanings, these educational values constitute the objects of society's activities in the field of education.

However we may interpret Bouglé's use of the word "permanent," we must consider that the satisfactions sought are to be thought of as relatively lasting and not simply passing or temporary in character, yet not so permanent or lasting as to allow for no change. Further, since values constitute in their entirety a nation's culture, we must think of educational values as integrated with the values associated with the other institutions and so intimately related to them that changes in other parts of the culture will presumably have a definite effect on the educational values. If we wish to view this process from the opposite angle, we may consider that changes in our educational values and corresponding changes in our educational activities, which seek the realization of these changed values and the satisfactions to be derived from them, will have a corresponding influence on other parts of the culture.

It would seem then from the standpoint of sociology that several facts appear to be clear. First, our educa-

tional values are parts of our social heritage, which, being thought of from the standpoint of humanity rather than from that of a nation or smaller unit, go back to the uncertain and vague beginnings of the accumulation and transmission of the fruits of human efforts to live and derive maximum satisfactions from life. Secondly, in view of this long history, such educational values may not be carelessly discarded. Yet, in view of the total changes occurring in our culture, it would seem that these values must be modified if a more perfect adjustment is to be secured between education and the other social institutions, resulting in a reduction of a certain amount of cultural lag and its attendant problems. Such modifications of values have occurred many times in the long history of human educational efforts. In the third place, we are realizing anew in these days of emphasis on social planning that many social experiments are based largely on the hypothesis that through education profound changes in the culture as a whole may be brought about. If such changes are to be brought about, it would seem that there should be a most careful consideration and evaluation of the changing culture, the social trends, and the values and satisfactions sought by the present generation. It would appear, therefore, that the educational values which dominate our educational system today are the products of society's search for satisfactions in the past and that the changes which are taking place today in society's values are due to a certain amount of dissatisfaction with life as it is and to the hope that by taking more careful thought for the morrow, life can be made more adequately satisfying.

From the sociological standpoint, therefore, it would seem that a search for the values which should be the objects of our educational activities today must be based on an understanding of our present generation's interpretations of values and on its vision of the values which the coming generation will seek. Instead, we often find two very different methods used. One of these is to start with educators, as such, and ascertain from them their com-

bined judgment of the desirable educational values. For example, we read in the third report prepared by the Committee for Elementary Education of the New York State Council of Superintendents, dated October 1, 1931 (page 13), "Three years ago through the coöperation of the principals and teachers of some 50 different elementary schools there was formulated the following statement of the cardinal objectives of the public elementary schools. . . ." There follows a list of six objectives which constitute the summary statement of what is designated as "the function of the public elementary school." While in the judgment of the writer this is a most excellent list, so far as it goes, it does appear significant that the critical evaluation of this list was largely done by "the rank and file of teachers." This raises the question as to whether or not these educators constituted the best authorities on the satisfactions sought by society and the evidences of dissatisfactions experienced by society and observed in our changing culture. The judgment of educators as to the best methods of reaching through educational activities the goals *desired by society would be invaluable. But the question* may properly be raised as to whether or not the best representatives of any single social institution are safe guides in our search for educational values. Education undertakes to prepare children to live richly and adequately in their total social environment and not simply or even primarily in their school situations. Evidence seems to be quite lacking that educators understand this total social environment sufficiently well to enable them to indicate with finality the goals that society is seeking and their implications for educational procedure.

A second procedure which has been used in the search for values is to start with our present curricula and to seek to work out the finest goals to which those curricula may be found to lead. The present generation of educators owes a very great debt to many tireless workers in this field. They have shown how it is possible to determine to what extent these goals have been reached and how

by more reliable methods a greater degree of success in attaining these goals may be secured. But all this is a contribution to superior work towards reaching old goals rather than a critical consideration of society's present choice of goals or of the directions in which society is moving in search of greater satisfactions.

The conclusion of the above reasoning is manifest. To-day we cannot be concrete or specific in our statement of educational values any more than Columbus could be specific as to the nature of the land which he sought. In spite of the fact that he did not realize several of his chief aims, he did know the direction in which to travel and, because he moved in the right direction, he has been honored by many successive generations. In our search for educational values, we crave definiteness. Thanks to the wonderful contributions made by specialists in the field of measurement in education, we have many techniques that enable us to be very definite and very specific. Some day we may be able to be similarly specific in this field of educational values and perhaps can be so now in certain aspects of it, but it appears to the writer that emphasis needs to be laid on a careful consideration as to directions in which to move rather than on a listing of specific details.

Towards what directions, because they afford the greatest promise of giving light on our problems of values, should we move? We find at least three such directions. In the first place, we begin our search with the realization that human individuals are fundamentally biological beings. While they are capable of becoming human personalities as a result of their experiences in society, they never cease to be fundamentally biological organisms. In the second place, we realize the tremendous influence of these experiences in society, of the culture into which the potentially human biological being is born. Whatever may be the capacities with which any particular individual is endowed at birth, we recognize that both the degree to which those capacities develop and the form which their development takes are largely determined by the characteristics of the



culture into which the individual has been born. The third factor is that which has already been indicated; namely, the particular individuals with whom he may have social relations and by whose influence he is molded.

By way of illustration of these three factors we might suggest the picture of a man in a small boat seeking to cross a great river in its lower reaches. The degree of his success or failure will depend in part on the stuff out of which he is made. If he is strong and alert and otherwise equipped by nature to handle his boat, he stands a reasonably good chance of a successful crossing. In the second place, his crossing will be greatly influenced by the condition of the river, which has come many hundreds of miles down from its sources in the mountains and has been greatly influenced both by the territory through which it has passed and by the tributaries flowing into it above the point of the crossing. Finally his crossing will depend on his past experience with boats and boatmen and his resultant skills and familiarity with boats and the river.

In considering educational values in any adequate sense it would seem that we must consider all three of these factors, not any two of them or simply aspects of any one of them. We must move in three directions for light on our problem. Starting with the biological factor, we realize that much help has already come from the biological field by way of psychology. We know, for instance, that so far as our present knowledge goes certain individuals, because of their nervous or glandular systems, will never develop to the extent that the average individual does. For such, educational values must be stated quite differently than for individuals of average or superior biological endowment. It would appear that there are numerous other contributions which biologists are even now in a position to make regarding educational values if educators will but more actively seek their coöperation. For example, it appears now that, of those students in our high schools today, about as many will become inmates of hospitals for nervous disorders as will become college students; that is, one out of

twenty in each case. In other words, there are numerous individuals who are not prepared to live in our modern social situations without breaking, whether such breaks are due to the weakening effects of disease or to the stresses and strains of modern life. When a great dam gives way before the heavy pressure of the waters which it is expected to hold back or a bridge is unable to stand up under the heavy stress of the traffic to which it is subjected, we tend to hold the engineers responsible for not taking adequately into account all the factors involved. By similar reasoning, to what extent are we, as educators, responsible when we allow to pass out of our schools each year many who are destined to break under the stresses to which they will be subjected? There appears here a challenge which seems to call for the further development of another linking science which would be a sort of biological-educational sociology. Such a science would help educators to know in general how to recognize those whose abilities to stand strains are definitely limited and who accordingly need the kind of education that will most likely prepare them to live without breaking. When we think of educational values we must seek, then, not only the coöperation of educators but of those who can best help us to understand the implications for education of the more recent developments in the field of biology.

The second area in which we may expect those seeking educational values to look is that of culture, both in its more lasting aspects and its more recent changes. The last several years have seen published a huge amount of material regarding culture but particularly regarding the most significant changes taking place in it. As an illustration of such material might be mentioned the recent report of the President's Research Committee on *Recent Social Trends in the United States* with its accompanying monographs. Although quite different in character but also most helpful in our search for educational values as viewed by the sociologist is the *Report of the Commission on the Social Studies* appointed by the American Historical Asso-

ciation which is in process of publication. If educational values are to be sought as integral parts of social values, then the clear indications of the changing social values must be carefully studied by those who seek to clarify for us the values to be sought by educational processes. It would seem that among educators those specializing in educational sociology would be the best prepared to interpret these changes, but the work must be done in no narrow sense. It would appear that the most cordial coöperation is needed here of specialists in the fields of economics, recreation, the family, politics, and religion, to mention but a few, if the educational values are to be based on the more recent developments in the general field of the social sciences.

The third area in which we must seek for light on educational values is that of social relations. This area cannot be clearly marked off from the first two, but nevertheless appears to have certain aspects distinct from them. This is the area worked in by social psychologists and it is encouraging indeed to see the amount of literature of careful scientific quality that has been issued during the last few years which may be used to great advantage in our search for educational values. It seems almost axiomatic that life's deepest joys and most permanent satisfactions are experienced when we are aware of harmony with our fellows; and, contrariwise, life's most poignant disappointments and tragic experiences follow our realization that we are out of harmony with our fellows. Some years ago Hornell Hart declared that the central problem of sociology is "how purposes are to be fitted together so that they shall stimulate, reinforce, and develop each other instead of thwarting and defeating each other." Later he adds that "the destructive phases of conflict must be eliminated without losing the creative phases." Such a goal as social adjustment, described in these quotations, must include not only the coöperative efforts of individuals but also those of the larger groups, such as social classes, nations, and races. Whoever states educational values

must include the light from this area. It is encouraging to note here also the development of another linking science, an educational-social psychology.

Underlying the position taken in this paper is the assumption that educational values are subordinate to life's values as these are interpreted by the generation that is at any time in control of the schools. It appears that the core of the dominant philosophy today is that the greatest values of life are to be found centered in personality. If this be accepted, then education would seem to consist of a series of experiences through which the less experienced persons are guided by the more experienced in such a manner as will result in the educands' development as fully as their original biological equipment makes possible, to the end that they may, on the one hand, enter as fully and completely as possible into the possession and enjoyment of their social heritage and, on the other hand, cooperate with their fellows in creative, constructive efforts to enrich life.

On the basis of the past history of humanity and of the changing culture of today, it would appear that educators are not in any position to state by themselves what the educational values shall be, but that their discovery must result from the cooperative efforts of our finest specialists in the fields that impinge so essentially on that of education—the human biologists, the social scientists, and the social psychologists.

This task of discovering educational values will never be completed with any degree of finality, for each new generation will need to have certain modifications made as its culture, "the sum total of the values of a society," changes. It would seem, then, that gradually there might arise a type of specialist who would render this continuing service of interpreting life's goals and the inherent educational values—a type of specialist whom we might christen educational-valuist.

# THE VALUING OF LEARNINGS

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Two purposes have dictated the writing of the following analyses. First, in these days of pedagogical confusion we need persistently to remind ourselves that schools are supported at large expense only to ensure acquisition of some specially valuable learnings. Second, traditional and opportunistic methods of valuing learnings in vague, generalized, and too often "aspirational" terms need urgently to be replaced by more analytical and realistic evaluations in order to ensure efficiency in the work of schools.

Unfortunately, these two types of needs have long suffered the familiarity which breeds first contempt and then obliviousness. Hence, for the sake of indispensable orientation, the first section of this paper must review certain considerations which ordinarily should be stale commonplaces.

## I. SOME COMMONPLACES

The final immediate products of nearly all school-controlled educative or teaching processes are learnings. Learnings may, obviously, be very specific, even minute; or they may be very composite, generalized, and integrated. It will often prove serviceable to classify these learnings as to skills, knowledge, ideals, attitudes, tastes, habits, aspirations, and others.

Human beings, we know, are inveterate learners. All normal children are filled with curiosities, are incurably experimental, and are persistently imitative and suggestible. Without any intention on the part of elders, growing children ceaselessly form habits, acquire attitudes, increase knowledge, keep their imaginations at work, develop skills, and form powers of coöperating.

But academic workers seem often to forget that learning propensities are active throughout all the years of maturity and old age, as well as in youth, though with certain kinds of changed incidence. All gossip, all newspaper reading, and much of travel are entered upon and keenly enjoyed because of their contributions of new knowledge, new beliefs, new appreciations.

Academic minds also seem often to be unrealistic in making distinctions between learnings acquired from schools and from extraschool sources. In certain sheer quantitative senses it seems probable that persons who have never attended schools will have acquired by the age of thirty as many and as varied learnings as those who have been sent to schools. But, of course, many of the learnings of, let us say, adult savages or fairly well civilized, illiterate adults will be very different and, for the sake of the educator's profession, let us trust, of much less value than those of thirty-year-old well-schooled persons.

Schools have evolved, it is clear, as agencies to assure only certain kinds of learnings—perhaps not five per cent of all those which prove most functional throughout child life, nor more than ten or fifteen per cent of those which prove usefully functional throughout adult years. Most of vernacular speech, of health-conserving behaviors, of small-group moralities, of vocations, of simple arts of daily intercourse and living, of food preferences, of dressing practices, of social games, and the like have never been learned in schools.

Presumably, all schools, from kindergartens through professional colleges, have been created by men to assume responsibility for only those kinds of learnings which have these two characteristics: they are supposed to be very valuable learnings; and they cannot well be acquired from extraschool sources.

But when, where, and for what purposes do learnings possess values? Obviously, only as they contribute to the

"valued" purposes of living persons, either in their personal or in their group-conserving rôles. Some learnings may have their chief values in just the immediate pleasures they produce—as in satisfactions of curiosities and in experiences of an aesthetic character. Some other learnings may tangibly enhance personal powers of doing productive work, of earning a living. Still others are expected to function as those kinds of loyalties and devotions which state-maintaining peoples have long called patriotism. Beside all these are learnings desired, by guardians or mature learners themselves, to enhance and integrate the qualities which make for enduring religiousness.

The old adage, "Knowledge is power," is clearly too broad. Only some knowledge gives power in meeting particular situations. Most kinds of knowledge, and even most degrees of specific knowledge, will not give power to Jones in 1930 towards earning a livelihood. Most forms of all possible knowledge can be of no conceivable value to Mary Brown, a young matron in California, in the present year.

## II. SOME IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS

Some economists and engineers, writing on themes of machine production and of "technocracy," are telling us that modern power-driven mechanisms produce goods at such stupendous rates and with so little man labor that supply is now chronically outrunning demand and thus leaving millions with no chance to purchase, since they have no chance to produce valuable goods to offer in exchange.

Somewhat similar trends seem to be active in the world of learnings. Historians, chemists, geographers, and scores of other groups of specialists are now producing "intellectual goods" at such tremendous rates that the supplies offered to schools and colleges as desirable, supposedly indispensable, for learners far outrun any conceivable powers of assimilation by these learners. Take, for example, the

junior-high-school years—between childhood and youth. Upon these three grades converge high-pressure educational salesmen of mathematics, histories, English language studies, music, shopcrafts, vocational guidances, field sports, scouting, social sciences, geographies, natural sciences, graphic and plastic arts, foreign languages, household arts, English literatures, mental sciences, and other wares.

But many of these still childlike learners of our junior high schools have only meager resources with which to make purchases from the above lavish wealth of offerings—meager resources of learning powers, of time, of intellectual desires. Hence various kinds of congestions, satieties, stalemates.

Clearly, then, the pupils in our schools, and, above all, the policy makers who select courses and construct curricula for our schools, need light as never before on the "more valuable" of possible learnings. "What knowledge is of *most* worth?" was Herbert Spencer's key query of nearly a century ago. We educators, expanding Herbert Spencer's query, need to develop techniques through which to provide reliable answers to the detailed questions: "What learnings of knowledge, of skills, of attitudes—and many other acquisitions possibly to be made by mind, spirit, and body—are likely to prove of *most* worth?" But our selective efforts must go farther: "of most worth for persons of the type of Edward Brown whose intelligence quotient is slightly below the median, who will probably terminate school attendance at sixteen years of age, who will probably be for many years a manual worker?" Or, "of most worth for the purposes of enabling persons of the type of Joseph Anderson, deriving from spiritually meager environments, to combine relatively rich intellectual attainments for their personal satisfactions with powers of being relatively fruitful sources of 'good' to others in family, state, and other coöperative organizations?" All of this, obviously,



will require much planning, and effective planning involves laborious forecasting.

Much is being said these days about the possibilities of scientific planning. Much is being written, too, about possible guidances to be given to young persons in planning for their personal careers. And we also hear of city planning, investment planning, and budget planning. On occasions of visible failure or catastrophe we reproach ourselves that individually or collectively we did not sufficiently plan to forestall and prevent wars or depressions or losses of health or failures of crops.

In a sociological sense, all schools and colleges already represent the outcomes of gigantic and highly socialized, even if often very opportunistic, efforts at planning. They are expensive agencies provided to serve either personal or collective needs which will not be met for years, even decades, to come. Like large-scale agencies of national defense, city expansions, and transport, they must be built in the light of fairly long-range forecasts, else they are opportunistic and likely to lead only to chagrin over wasted opportunities.

The easiest of all planning can be done, of course, where we can be certain that the future will be nearly or completely like the past. Even very primitive men could plan for the daily recurrence of daylight and dark. Men who had reached early stages of civilization learned to plan for the coming of winter, for the rising of the Nile, for the migrations of game. When human cultures have become fairly static for considerable periods—in religious ritual or skilled crafts or fine arts or, as with us now, in the alphabet or spelling or masculine attire—it becomes easy for teachers to determine what children can best learn under tutelage. "That which was good for the fathers will be best for the sons."

Changing conditions, either of nature or of human cultures, obviously impose severe burdens upon forecasters

and planners. How can one plan for the future if there can be discovered no dependable regularities in the coming of day and night, of the seasons, of eclipses, of the locusts, of invading enemies, or of epidemics—or of economic depressions?

A relatively static order, then, renders forecasting and planning easy. Radical changes of order, which only rarely occur, may render them wholly impracticable. But for present-day educators it is civilized mankind's insistent demands for improvement, for progress, which impose the heaviest burdens of responsibility for forecasting and planning.

Progress in school educations can as yet be but slightly based on scientific forecasts. This is so chiefly because we do not yet have criteria of the values of learning. Nearly all progress thus far achieved in education—and obviously that has been no less relatively than ancient progress in the practical arts of agriculture, metal working, food preserving, and building—has resulted from "trial and error" procedures. But these means of "progress" are slow, uncertain, and wasteful. They are steadily being superseded by "scientific" methods in all those fields of productive effort in which "applied science" can be employed—and these are now including medicine, social work, and treatment of offenders, no less than navigation, animal breeding, or steel making.

### III. THE VALUING PROCESSES

The *means* whereby all organic creatures live and grow to full possibilities have *positive values* or are *valuables* for them. Means of destruction or harm can be considered *negative values* or *disvaluables*.

In the plant and subhuman animal life the organic processes of acquiring valuable means to living (and of avoiding disvaluable means) seem to be largely automatic and nonconscious. But in large measure human beings evolve

partly conscious valuation-making processes which draw upon memories, imaginative projections, learnings from others, but also obscurely upon vestigial instincts, subconscious complexes, etc. The valuations made by men in most of the early stages of their personal or coöperative entries upon new, more complex, or more evolved fields of experience are of the nature of *estimates*, ranging from sheer guesses, intuitions, and impulsive reactions to carefully considered and cooperatively confirmed judgments.

Only in extensively studied areas—as now in certain departments of food values, therapeutic values, sickness-prevention values, insurance values, and commodities-production values (by scientific forecasts and invented mechanisms)—can valuating judgments be made so precise and trustworthy as to be called scientific. As noted earlier, hardly any of the valuations of learnings which educators, parents, and others are incessantly called upon to make can as yet be called “scientific,” any more than can the valuations which juries considering evidence, legislators enacting statutes, or committees passing upon art products be called scientific.

Nevertheless, practical men and women everywhere and at all times must incessantly make and abide by estimative valuations. Life and growth would otherwise be impossible. By impulsive and crude or by judicial and refined procedures all civilized adults are constantly estimating the values to themselves and to their relevant associates of foods and kinds of work, of recreations and friends, of investments and travels, of political policies and support of proposals for war offensives. Because they affect, if not our actual safety and comfort, at least our senses of coöperative harmonies and supports, we are also continually making valuation estimates of the behaviors, overt or potential, of other human beings. We pass judgments of good or bad, approvable or disapprovable, lawful or unlawful—all of the nature of estimates, and some considerably

affected, especially in mature persons, by the products of much philosophizing.

Even under the advanced conditions of modern cultures, most of the valuations by which men and women must live and work are of so *estimative* a character that they can hardly be called scientific. No one expects the valuations made by children, even in areas of food choices and disease preventions, to be scientific. It will easily be agreed that few adults are capable of making "scientific" predictive estimations of investment values, whereas, within limits, predictive estimations of securities and dangers of well-known navigational procedures can now be scientifically made.

In studying means of making valuation estimations of learnings more functional and reliable, though we cannot yet make them even considerably scientific, it will prove of great importance that we study carefully the procedures adopted in other fields of work in order to bring dependability and coöperative support into valuation estimates.

Widely used is the device or mechanism of the "jury," or grouping of evaluating "judges," all of whom, after seeing, hearing, and otherwise receiving evidence, and expert interpretation of evidence, formulate on a voting basis their collective estimates—their coöperative judgments of "value," their concerted valuations.

Mature and well-disciplined men also tend extensively to employ systematic analysis of component or contributive factors to situations where valuations of "wholes" must be made—in voting for candidates, in planning a house, in contemplation of marriage. In a sense, this is a sort of "budgeting process" in the effort to make valuations more reliable, to avoid overlooking essential factors, and to harmonize varying weights of unlike factors.

#### IV. SOME PRELIMINARY ANALYSES OF VALUES AND VALUATIONS OF LEARNINGS

The values or worths of learnings are to be estimated (and when we shall have fuller knowledge, computed) as

they affect the learner himself, or, through him, his co-members in his smaller or larger societies. Vices harmful to the person may be learned no less than virtues helpful to him. Some learnings may so function as to increase the present well-being of the individual, but at the serious expense of his wife, his neighbor, his vocational associates, or his fellow citizens in the state. Learnings which are "good" for the individual will, however, commonly prove also "good," through the behaviors of the learner, to his associates and federates in small and large societies.

As examples of the concrete analyses which the writer believes should be extensively made by educators constructing curricula, the following condensed statements are submitted.

1. The values of learnings are transformed from potential to actual or functional in behaviors, overt acts, achievements. Unused skills, knowledge, appreciations, ideals, or other learnings, like unused dollars or coal or water power, have no value in actuality. But, obviously, learnings achieved at one time may, in effect, be stored, like dollars or seeds or tools, and put to work, or made functional in human well-being at a later date.

2. Large proportions of the unconstrained, naturalistic learnings of small children in fairly normal household or neighborhood environments—learnings of speech, bodily controls, personal decencies, friendly coöperations, games, knowledge of nature, uses of simple implements, appreciations of aesthetic things, small group customs, danger avoidances, and others—are likely to have a fairly high value, either then or later (or both), for themselves or others, because of the selectively wholesale character of environmental sources of stimulation interacting on the instinctively wholesome learning preferences and propensities of the young.

3. Since adults in civilized societies find it necessary to discharge large proportions of life's functions (by which they procure food, ensure social order, conserve health, rear progeny, enrich personal culture, and assure their futures) through highly artificialized and technically elaborated conditions, it becomes indispensable that, after early years of infancy are passed, the learnings of children and youths shall be selectively, but with as little unnaturalness as practicable, directed towards those attainments which are likely to have good or high values under forecasted conditions of participations in such civilized life.

4. Within the United States are some twenty-five million children from four to sixteen years of age; of another group, there are fifteen million from sixteen to twenty-five years of age. Steadily increasing proportions are seeking to extend their earlier learnings or to add new learnings under the auspices of teachers and schools to the end that they may serve both themselves, their associates, and their commonwealths better because of such learnings.

In these millions, in their needs and potentialities, are to be found the final sources of all realistic valuations of learnings. Twenty-five years from now these millions will compose the central dynamic corps of our citizens from thirty to fifty years of age. On them chiefly will, then, be falling the burdens of rearing families, making cities and States more effective agencies of human welfare, producing ample economic wealth to maintain high standards of living for all, widening and deepening hundreds of kinds of human knowledge, and reinterpreting those spiritual out-reachings of men which beget philosophies and religions.

The equipments of learnings acquired by these millions, aged between birth and twenty-five years, will constitute largely the foundation walls of the structures and the essential machineries through which they are to make their contributions, first towards keeping in good shape their inheritances from their predecessors and, next, in adding to and

further perfecting those inheritances as means of greatest good to the greatest number.

5. The "goods," the things of worth, the valued means and felt ends of men are of many kinds—some material, some spiritual, some easy of attainment, some of obviously intermediate character, and some of relatively final significance. Neither the social sciences, seeking to interpret the collective well-beings of men, nor the psychical sciences, seeking to interpret the individual personalities of men, can as yet provide more than crude and very tentative descriptions of either relatively proximate or the relatively ultimate values of civilized men. Such terms as security, health, wealth, righteousness, beauty, knowledge, and progeny suggest possible categories; so also do such terms as self-realization, social approval, liberty, justice, self-expression, social solidarity, personal integration, the beautified life, and others.

Hence, large proportions of the learnings of which individuals are capable are consciously valued or disvalued by the learners themselves (in their maturity), or by their elders on their behalf (in their immaturity), as means to the valued ends of life. But some learnings, e.g., knowledge or beauty "for its own sake," may seem to have all the qualities of final or end values in themselves—satisfaction of curiosity, hunger for beauty, joy in creative expression, pride in achievement visible to one's fellows. Hence, also, learnings can well be classified and appraised in terms of their prospective functionings as contributive to particular genera of human well-being—health, personal security, possession of wealth, communion with God, fine progeny, things cherished because of beauty, liberty, justice, or social approval.

6. Towards the better functioning of the learnings achieved by individuals in the larger collective service of societies, certain kinds of similarities of learnings, of harmonizations of learnings, of present unifications of learn-

ings as these are first assimilated and then made functional in the overt behaviors of multitudes of men, seem to be indispensable. These harmonizations or social integrations become increasingly necessary, even urgent, in proportion as the important works, pleasurings, and self-culturings of men come to be achieved in even larger proportions through extensive and complex team cooperations of persons.

These much desired integrations of learnings—learnings of knowledge, of beliefs, of feeling-charged attitudes, of basic valuations—seem to be relatively easy of achievement, even presently on a world-wide basis, in all those areas of human possessions where *knowledge*, somewhat strictly defined, has been arrived at—knowledge of the movements of the planets, of the causes of diphtheria, of the controls of lightning, of the facts of soil fertilization, of the procedures essential to steel making, of the realities of five-century-old histories.

But such integrations are yet difficult to achieve on a large scale where, because of lack of tested knowledge, learnings must consist largely of beliefs, ideals, sentiments, and inspired valuations. In these areas cults, parties, sects, coteries, unions, and clubs tend strongly to multiply in all large and complex social situations, each as the jealous custodian of some or many of these extrascientific components of the social inheritance, and each so determined to perpetuate them through the learnings induced in the young that they frequently forbid public or nonpartisan agencies to touch upon or impart learnings in these areas at all.



## A DISCUSSION OF CRITERIA OR STANDARDS OF EDUCATIONAL VALUE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO WOODWORKING

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A discussion of educational value presupposes a person or persons, a field of knowledge or branch of subject matter, and a situation which involves them both. I will approach this question of value, therefore, by involving myself in an activity within the field of woodworking.

As I sorted through the mahogany short blocks, recently, matching certain pieces that seemed well suited to my needs, I ran across a piece that was different. It had been in the stock all year and had doubtless been laid aside a great number of times by the boys as they sought the *best* for their purposes. This piece of wood may be assumed, therefore, to have been considered valueless countless times. Even relatively inexperienced persons take note of certain qualities that appeal to them even before they are able to assign reasons for their choices. The very word "select" implies a weighing of values. Experiences make a person more selective in definitely restricted areas.

I reached for the piece of wood in response to the visual stimulus of different color which I noted under the rough-sawn surface. My verbal response was "Ah! A piece of walnut." It was comparatively heavy and my storehouse of memories about wood immediately supplied the information "fairly hard." I looked at it closely and discovered, almost hidden under the rough exterior, a very unusual grain. Immediately the thought presented itself, "This is a piece of walnut burl, too valuable to be left here to be spoiled by boys." Coincident with the thought, came the almost mechanical response of taking it to a place of safe-keeping.

The piece was irregular in shape, being approximately four inches thick and twelve inches long. Its width was three inches at one end and five at the other. The possibilities for using such a piece of wood began presenting and eliminating themselves at once. The piece was definitely limited in size. There wasn't another to match it. Obviously certain things could not be done. Turning would waste too much of the stock. The greatest possibilities were found along the lines of greatest wood surface. This would necessitate slabbing the piece into thin strips. When this was done, the pieces were laid out and matched somewhat in the fashion of working a crossword puzzle. The former suggestions of box and tray gave way to tilt-top table. The pieces could be arranged nicely as a veneer for a small pie-crust-edge table top. With the suggestions narrowed down and the decision made, the challenge of building up the top was too great to be deferred to the indefinite "some time." It had to be done immediately.

When the surface was planed and the grain stood out nicely, boys, who had thought the piece without value, vied with each other in sanding it to a high polish. More often than not the word "gorgeous" was used as descriptive of the appearance of the completed top. Wood that was unnoticed before now attracted attention. The difference was the result of the application of a specialized knowledge and skill within a definitely restricted area. This application of knowledge and skill, extended over a period of time and carried on before boys, was so unusual and striking in its effects upon them that they were interested in following its progress. Interest in observation soon developed into interest in participation with an increase of a certain measure of definite knowledges and skills. Perhaps the greatest learning for the boys was a concomitant appreciation of the nature and possibility of an imaginative use of wood.

There was also a corresponding increment of apprecia-

tion and emotional tone in such an accomplishment for me after twenty years experience in woodworking. I value new knowledges, new methods, and newly developed skills in cabinet-making in a way that I could not have done in the beginnings of my experience. I am sensitive to suggestion and I thrill to new insights.

Would I, therefore, say that such an experience is a desirable educational experience for all boys and girls? Obviously, of course, but with reservations! In this instance the greatest value accrued to me, who had the interest, saw the possibility, had the knowledge and skill, and did the work through every step and every minor detail to the end with its attendant emotional satisfactions. A great deal less of value accrued to the boys who were actively interested and who helped out with the drudgery of sanding to a polish. There were those, however, whose attention followed the progress of the work or whose attention was called to the final result, whose value was measured only by an indifferent to mild, or moderate, aesthetic response, similar to that of seeing a green mountainside, blue expanse of water, or a picture in a museum.

There is, therefore, no one standard of value *for all* in any field or area of educational learning. It is foolish of us to expect it and futile to try to attain it.

Would I insist upon all pupils having contact with such an experience? Obviously not! My very insistence might have turned the positive learnings of those who got the greatest benefit into negative learnings of resentful resistance. It is certain that those who got little from following the experience would have received less of value by being forced into the situation.

As I look over the whole field of knowledges and skills in woodworking they all have value for me and I am glad that I possess them. I anticipate learning more about the field. But woodworking has been a kind of composite avocational-vocational hobby for me. I think of the times I have

spent and the benefits I have derived from working in wood, and my heart quickens. But there is a fly in the ointment! I have found out that there is music, that there is modeling, that there is painting, that there is gardening, that there is dancing, and that there are countless other activities, each divisible in itself. My warmth is diffused with the cold realization that there is too much of life's art activity of value left for me to do little about except to sample in the time I have left before me. My very strength is my weakness. I am holding woodwork a hostage for other values. I do not regret it. Each one of us needs one art in which to excel. Each one of us needs many arts for sampling, for placing our chosen art in proper perspective, for variety and relief and added zest for it when we continue to pursue it.

There is no gainsaying that the price I pay for skill in wood is a lack of knowledge, a lack of skill, and a lack of breadth in the other arts. I cannot insist, therefore, that any definite knowledge or any definite skill in woodwork is essential or desirable for all, or any one individual, without a smile and a waiving of personal integrity.

I believe in the educational value of woodwork. I would give every one a chance to seek this value in so far as he is intellectually and emotionally inclined. I would help him to make progress successfully from one endeavor to another. I would bring in knowledges and skills, and kinks and devices, whenever they are applied to his particular problem. I would be more interested in his doing, in his best way, with help if necessary, what he started out to do. But I can never be interested in *fundamental knowledges and skills* because they are fundamental only because of my narrow, restricted, habituated view of my own specialty—because I am thinking of woodworking fundamentals rather than educational fundamentals. I am, I hope, an educator and not a woodworker first or even second. I am interested in all of humanity and its art

education, of which woodwork is only a very small part.

When I begin to think of boys and girls I begin to think of their eager pursuit of some activity because of its special appeal and their special interest in doing some particular phase of it. They must choose, they must identify themselves with the activity whole-heartedly or they would better be playing "tiddledy-winks" or thinking about nothing in particular. I am eager to have work in process that may be seen and tried out. I am eager to stimulate by suggestion, by reference material, by model, and by other means. I will do all I can to interest people in woodwork and to help them over barren beginnings. I am interested in helping people learn, but I am not interested in teaching woodwork. The province of the arts is the province of self-education.

I can find values everywhere in woodwork, but aside from relatively unimportant isolated learnings I see nothing that cannot be shared by music and by gardening. My approach is an individual teacher and pupil contact upon a common-sense basis which treats the pupil as a rationally intelligent being able to seek some of the values which I have found for myself. I am confident that he will find them without my too great solicitude if he will but give himself a chance by an adequate trial of the possibilities within the field. I am just as happy if he decides that his dish is music instead of woodwork and takes to it with zest.

Art is personal and criteria of value, or standards of value, of art knowledges and participations, are personal values. I want nearly everything to say about my own, and little to say about your art values. I want help when I feel a need for it, and will seek it and receive it with grateful appreciation. I think too much of art, however, to wish to kill it by hand-feeding it to you as I see it and as I like it. My attitude is rather "let us play with art together."

## PATRIOTISM AND THE SELECTION OF VALUES FOR A PHASE OF CIVIC EDUCATION

EARLE L. HUNTER

To the wise and scientific or near-scientific selection of values for civic education there is no greater obstacle than the way in which any activity called patriotic is blindly accepted as a vitally necessary element in good citizenship. By reason of the traditional importance of patriotism for the success of the group, the mere naming of any activity as patriotic tends to make its performance mandatory. This should not be interpreted as sufficient ground for condemning or destroying outright all or any patriotic values. But it is sufficient ground for undertaking careful analyses of these values. Investigation as to whether or not these values are consistent with desirable citizenship should enable educators to select for teaching elements of worthy political membership, with a minimum of interference from a vague, undefined, sentimental patriotism.

In discussing the relations of patriotism to the problem of civic education, we are confronted with the fact that patriotism has come, through the long history of its use, to be a term of very broad and uncertain meaning. Therefore, this paper is specifically addressed to the analysis of the values striven for in one phase or type of the complex of reactions indicated by the term patriotism. In an earlier study of patriotic attitudes,<sup>1</sup> the writer found that a large number of attitudes were concerned with the powers of the Federal Government of the United States. It is with this aspect of patriotism and its influence on civic education that this article deals.

The attitudes discovered may be roughly summarized as being directed towards the development of a full, submissive, and unquestioning allegiance to the Federal Govern-

<sup>1</sup>"A Sociological Analysis of Certain Types of Patriotism: A Study of Certain Patriotic Attitudes, Particularly as These Appear in Peace-Time Controversies in the United States."

ment of the United States. The significance of this generalized value can be made clearer by giving several groups of the more concrete attitudes found in the study already referred to:

*The patriotic citizen should be ready to do the bidding of his government.*

He should at all times trust his government officials.

He must accept the fundamental plan of his government and be faithful to the Constitution of the United States.

*The fundamental form of the government should remain unchanged.*

Such fundamental principles as the separation of church and state must be observed.

The government must be given undivided allegiance.

Freedom of speech must be limited if it is used to interfere with the government of the country.

Unquestioning obedience must be given to laws adopted, and none of the demands of the government may be resisted.

If all of the citizens of the United States acted consistently with the attitudes listed above, it is clear that the Federal Government would be placed upon a pedestal whence, within the limits set by the Constitution, it could, with unassailable right, control the activities of the country. And since, according to these attitudes, the judicial branch of the government is also beyond criticism, constitutional limitations could easily be modified so that the government would become practically omnipotent.

It may be argued that attitudes of this kind are an obvious distortion of true patriotism. In treatises on politics, in the planned curricula of schools, such attitudes may find little place; may indeed be definitely controverted. They may come to definite expression only in times of crisis or near crisis. The large majority of the people of the country may never verbally profess holding attitudes of this kind. Few people, on thoughtful analysis, would probably attribute to the government such broad powers and such wide immunity from criticism. But there is clear evidence in the attitudes actually found that the government should be regarded as having sweeping power. Consciously or subconsciously, people think and act at times in accordance with the attitudes stated above. Also, there is

evidence that such behavior acquires additional influence from its inclusion as a phase of desirable patriotic conduct. Whether found in the definite plans of the schools or not, the influence of these attitudes is sure to find its way into the work of the classroom.

Our problem then is: Recognizing the existence of attitudes which would give to the Federal Government broad and unassailable power over the activities of the citizens, and recognizing the peculiar influence of such attitudes due to their being construed as a part of the complex of patriotic attitudes, how shall the schools of the nation proceed in training citizens with respect to the powers of the government? Shall educational practice subscribe to the values presented above and train future citizens to think and act accordingly? Here is a clear issue which the curriculum maker must consider; an issue in civic education that is full of difficulties because of the conflicting interests involved.

Let us examine sociologically the significance of the behavior presented here, and consider the advisability of alternate behaviors with respect to the powers of government. In defense of endowing government with broad powers, it may be urged that, under the representative institutions of the United States, the electorate has sufficient controls to safeguard itself against a misuse of power by the government. Do not the people, those who have the right of suffrage, decide the policies of the government? On principles which the people will accept, the candidates for office make their campaigns for election. And if those principles are not carried out in the making and the execution of laws, those elected will be repudiated at the polls. Such is the theory of representative government. By this theory ultimate power or sovereignty lies in the hands of the people. They in their capacity as citizens are the state, and if the government infringes on their privileges, they have reserved to themselves the right to destroy and rebuild it.

But this theory of popular control over the exercise of power by the government faces many chances of frustration



in actual political practice. To name just a few of the more obvious chances for frustration: Candidates for office are elected by and represent the majority of the voters only. In any given election, the minority, even though it be just short of one half of the electorate, is without effective power over the policies of the government. And this does not take into account the fairly frequent instances in which a minority, by the plurality principle in voting, decides an election. Then also, there must be considered the activities of political parties and bosses whereby the voters frequently if not regularly are given no real choice. Party politics submerge the vital issues and in their place offer the voters straddling and meaningless compromises. At any rate, the nominating machinery usually results in the naming of candidates by a very small inner circle of party leaders, so that the candidates for office do not represent the actual choice of the people. Consider next the activities of officials after they are elected. Even where they have had real contact with the electorate, where they are named and do campaign for principles in which the voters are interested, because of the number of issues and because of the confusion arising from the combination of local and state elections with those for the National Government, the mandate of the people is not clear. Consequently, decisions of officials frequently do not represent even a composite of the opinions of the people. Then, too, new issues are constantly developing so that during their official tenure the representatives of the supposedly sovereign electorate must decide what course to follow in terms of their own judgment or in obedience to the dictates of political bosses. Again, decisions having far-reaching consequences for the people are frequently made by administrative officials who are appointees of appointees of elected officials. Nor can we overlook the wide interpretative powers exercised by judges who, once appointed, serve for many years.

In view of these realities in the functioning of representative government, it is clear that effective power does not lie in the hands of the people. The elected and appointed

officeholders are the real wielders of power as well as judges of what powers they shall attempt to exercise. In fact, acceptance of this state of affairs is shown in the attitudes collected by the writer. Readiness to do the bidding of government officers, implicit trust and faith in them, unquestioning obedience to the demands of the government, limitation of free speech where it is used to criticize the government—such attitudes as these fit into a scheme in which the government is viewed as having a very free hand rather than into one where the people think of themselves as the active controllers of governmental power.

On the assumption of democratic political institutions that governments exist not as masters but as servants of the people to work for the general welfare, the attitudes outlined at the beginning of this article seem to be distortions of patriotism with respect to the issue of what powers shall be exercised by the government. It is clear that education for responsible citizenship cannot permit so-called patriotic enthusiasm to inculcate beliefs and attitudes favorable to the exercise of unlimited power by the government. But this is largely a negative conclusion. Obviously the government must have certain powers to carry out its functions in the social order. Just this point of what functions it is thought necessary for the state to perform gives the clue to making positive suggestions as to the attitudes with respect to governmental power which the schools, in the opinion of the writer, should teach.

Stated in general terms, with particular reference to the United States, the special functions of the Federal Government seem to be defense and offense against foreign enemies of the state area, maintenance of order and the administration of justice within the state, operation or regulation of certain services of a public character.

The first of these, protection against external enemies, is one of the oldest if not the original function of the state or of its closest forbears. For the exercise of this function the government of the state historically has had practically unlimited power. But by reason of the tech-

nical development of warfare, armed conflict between nations threatens such widespread danger and disaster to whole populations that the final or absolute right of a government to declare war has been seriously questioned. Because of the significance of the question, it has been urged that war should not be declared except on the basis of a referendum. In this way, it is argued, there would be a possibility of checking minority interests urging war for their immediate advantage. And while propaganda might influence the majority, yet the opportunity would be given to the electorate to express itself.

While the declaration of war might be decided by a referendum in some cases, the exigency of actual invasion would probably have to be met by an immediate call to arms on the part of the executive branch of the government. In such cases only is it clear that the citizens should be taught to accept the unqualified right of the government to declare war.

After war is declared, it is generally felt that the government of the state should have conclusive power to co-ordinate and administer all the factors necessary to a successful prosecution of the war. Here serious issues arise. Shall the government have the power to draft for army service all it deems fit? Shall it be empowered to conscript wealth, industrial organizations, and labor? Shall it have the right to control, as it sees fit, freedom of expression and to spread propaganda to further its success in the field without regard to truth? Unlimited power for the government in the prosecution of war means the right to do all of these things. The United States in the World War exercised the first and third of these powers with only slight limitations; but attempted only partial control over industry.

What attitudes shall the schools teach with respect to such powers? This question can be answered only according to the answer to another more fundamental question of educational aims. Shall the schools aim to produce an attitude consistent with the prevailing opinion on this issue

of governmental powers in war time, or shall they strive to develop attitudes antagonistic to war? If the former, they will teach submission in war time to all the dictates of the government. If war is to be discouraged, there is no surer way than for the schools to teach a very critical attitude towards all activities in war time, and to encourage, on the ground of the greater good of the nation, the refusal to submit to all kinds of conscription. To urge against this alternative that nations have historically had absolute power in war time and that a realistic view of the world today condemns such teaching as idealistic and impractical internationalism is merely to argue for the continuance of the *status quo*. But the force of these arguments can be nullified only if schools are willing to assume a rôle of leadership towards a new order of society. If they are so willing, and if they teach a critical attitude towards governmental powers in war time, the government will be forced to reckon with it. Thus a condition with respect to the making of war will be created that is as realistic as are the traditional precedents for broad governmental prerogatives in the conduct of war. Such are the general lines along which the educational policy maker must make his decisions as to the attitudes to be taught with respect to the war-making powers of the government. If the government is to be endowed with unrestricted power in war making, attitudes expecting that power will be taught. If the government is to be limited by the expressed judgment of its citizens in the declaration and prosecution of war, appropriate attitudes will be inculcated. The prospective voter would then be taught to weigh the consequences of war, to expect to exercise his referendum rights for or against war, unless war were for repelling actual invasion, and to exercise his critical powers over the method of prosecuting a war once it has been initiated.

With respect to the second function of government listed above, the maintenance of order and the administration of justice within the state, the issues are more complicated, because the range of activity involved is much larger and

more complex. One guiding thesis can be laid down in the beginning, however. If the government is regarded not as possessed of absolute power, but rather as an agent for the performance of certain necessary functions, then there is no absolute source from which may be derived the rules of order or the kind of justice which is to be the goal of state activity. Government according to absolute and inviolable principles will not secure true order and justice. These are gained by the use of rules that will coördinate fairly the interests of the people of the state area. This means that constitutions, laws, and the interpretation of laws must be worked out in terms of the activities of the citizens. In other words, order and justice are functions of the existent social relationships. The government then must be given such power as is necessary to establish and to maintain that order that seems, under the critical oversight of the citizens, to be the best under the circumstances. Consequently, the educator will strive to inculcate attitudes consistent with the government's preserving order and administering justice to the advantage of the people of the country generally; and to teach attitudes making possible an easy modification of the legal structure when the good of the populace as a whole seems to demand such change. This is quite different from teaching that the government should have absolute power or that the demands of order and justice are satisfied by adherence to precedent practice; for order on this basis simply amounts to preservation of the *status quo* whether consistent with the needs of the people or not.

The situation is somewhat similar with respect to the third division of the specific functions of the government given above—the operation or regulation of certain services of a public character. It requires but a glance at the history of any one state or only a superficial comparison of different states at the same time to note great variation in the performance of this type of function. Certain services regarded as vital to the community, and therefore performed by the government in one case, are merely regu-

lated by the government in another or are left entirely to the field of private initiative to be controlled only in such ways as the community has worked out through non-political techniques. The developments in the United States during the first Congressional session of the present administration are instructive in this connection. With a general disregard for the American individualistic tradition, Congress delegated to the President broad powers of political control, many of them to be exercised in lesser or greater degree at his discretion only. Why is this not an example showing that a government has the right to assume power when and as it deems necessary or desirable? But this suggestion is readily controverted by the consideration that any attempt at such an increase of its powers in the bright days before the cataclysm of 1929 would have brought on the Government of the United States the earliest possible repudiation. The recent expansion in the political operation and regulation of services is most certainly not a case of assuming powers that already belonged to the government by implication. On the contrary, it would be far more truthfully described by saying that various groups in the country asked the government to assume power they had formerly regarded as their inalienable right won by generations of devotion to free, private endeavor. In other words, the services administered by the government depend upon the prevailing social philosophy and upon the exigencies of the group situation.

The attitudes to be taught with respect to this function of government can then be formulated thus: To the government must be granted such power as will be needed to perform those services which the state community judges can be performed best by political means. The citizenry must be taught to permit the government to perform certain functions, but not to feel that any activity their governmental officers decide upon is for that reason only a necessarily legitimate field for political control.

On the basis of extensive study and the foregoing analysis, the writer suggests the following summary of fundamental

principles for the guidance of civic education in developing attitudes and ideals with respect to governmental powers. The state should be recognized and regarded as one of the important and probably as the most important of the institutions of society for the ordering of its activities. This fundamental, positive function should be properly emphasized to develop loyalties to the state as satisfying certain group needs. The group needs to be met by state action are those suggested by the three groups of functions mentioned above. With reference to defense the government of the state must be empowered to meet swiftly with armed force invasion of the national domain or actual armed insurrection against the federal government. Whether other difficulties and problems of the federal state should be met by recourse to war, the citizens should expect to decide by popular referendum. Again, citizens should be trained to feel that the use of all war-time powers such as conscription, extraordinary control over labor, industry, or wealth, regulation of speech and of the press should remain under the critical oversight of the citizens; that the government of the state shall not be regarded as having a conclusive right to assume these powers unless it is clear that a majority of the citizens wish to delegate such powers to the government. In the maintenance of order and the administration of justice, governmental power should be exercised for the good of the community in general rather than for the interests of limited groups exclusively. The attitude should be developed that the laws of the state are but those rules of social behavior that for the time seem best calculated to further the general welfare when administered through the political machinery. This attitude will also serve as the basis for civic education with respect to the third general function of the political state, that of performing or regulating certain social services; e.g., schools, means of communication, health, and so forth. The extent of state activity in this field must be expected to change as conditions demand. The citizens should then be trained to think that

certain specific powers are granted to the government by the people; that power is not there to be assumed or declined by the government at its will, but only at the behest of the people. The government is, then, a creation of the people of the state area to bring about through political machinery social coöperation in certain phases of the life of the community. This is the ultimate principle in accordance with which civic education should proceed.

It should be clear now that the concept of citizenship education contemplated by the writer has for its fundamental method the teaching of ideals and attitudes rather than attempting to develop in all the skill and knowledge required to solve the complex problems involved in organizing and limiting the field of political activity. Further, the indifferent results in the development of citizenship that have come from the vague, general teaching of patriotism indicate that the building of civic ideals and attitudes will succeed only indifferently if it is expected to result incidentally from classroom discussions about forms and processes of government or the technical problems of legislation. Experience seems to indicate that to be effective education in this field must be functional; that is, it must be formulated in terms of the necessary job: the inculcation of attitudes and ideals. Moreover, these attitudes will have to be developed specifically; that is, in terms of concrete cases. The general attitudes suggested above are, of course, the goals of civic education rather than its starting point or the outline of its daily method. Our emphasis on building specific attitudes is not to be interpreted as denying the value or as arguing against the advisability of whatever strengthening of the attitudes and ideals for citizenship may come from a more largely cultural study of social science. Let that be given in doses just as strong as the patients can stand! But, if the schools are to fulfill one of their supremely important public functions, the values suggested here by the analysis of governmental powers will have to be given a very prominent and a very definite place in the practice of teaching.



# SIBLING RESEMBLANCE IN SOCIAL ATTITUDES

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Sibling resemblances in physical traits, in mental traits, in handwriting qualities, in educational achievement, in deceptive behavior, etc., have been studied. The results (see Table I) indicate resemblance between siblings which can be measured in terms of a correlation coefficient of around .35 as compared to a correlation of 0 for unrelated pairs.

TABLE I  
Some Previous Studies on Sibling Resemblances

Number of Reference in Bibliography	Investigator	Date of Investi- gation	Trait Studied	Correlations Obtained <sup>1</sup>				Number of Pairs	Remarks
				Brother- Brother	Sister- Sister	Brother- Sister	All Pairs		
1	Hildreth	1925 <sup>1</sup>	I. Q.	..	..	..	.68	1028	
1	Hildreth	1925	E. Q.	..	..	..	.58	188	
1	Hildreth	1925	A. Q.	..	..	..	.32	188	
2	Hucatis and Otto	1927	University grades	.74	.61	.04	..	100	
3	Kramer and Lauterbach	1928	Handwriting (quality)	.46	.24	.13	..	101	
3	Kramer and Lauterbach	1928	Handwriting (rate)	.27	.09	.16	..	101	
4	Thorndike	1928	Tests of se- lective and rational thinking, general- ization, and or- ganiza- tion				.60	1,800	The r reported is esti- mated
5	Willoughby	1928	Opposites	.45	.29	.30	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Number- series completion	.45	.46	.31	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Arithmetic reasoning	.37	.26	.37	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Symbol- series completion	.31	.31	.31	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Sentence completion	.47	.21	.28	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Geometric forms	.29	.28	.16	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Analogies	.31	.30	.28	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Symbol- digit	.30	.48	.36	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Sentence- picture in- formation	.53	.38	.23	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	History literature information	.47	.41	.31	..	140	
5	Willoughby	1928	Checking similarities	.16	.42	.27	..	140	

Number of Reference in Bibliography	Investigator	Date of Investi- gation	Test Studied	Correlations Obtained				Number of Pairs	Remarks
				Brother- Brother	Sister- Sister	Brother- Sister	All Pairs		
6	Freeman and others	1928	I.Q.	..	..	..	.34 .25	125	.34 is r obtained by age entry; .25 by double entry.
7	Jones	1928	I.Q.	..	..	..	.49	824	There were only 317 children but in- vestiga- tor used maxi- mum number of pairs and double entry.
8	May and Hartshorne	1928	Deception in be- havior A <sup>1</sup>	..	..	..	.25	370	
8	May and Hartshorne	1928	Deception in be- havior C <sup>2</sup>	..	..	..	.49	246	
8	May and Hartshorne	1928	Deception in be- havior P <sup>3</sup>	..	..	..	.46	402	
8	May and Hartshorne	1928	Deception in be- havior H <sup>4</sup>	..	..	..	.50 Approx. .44	343	
9	McPadden	1929	I.Q.	..	..	..	.44	..	
10	Sima	1931	I.Q.	..	..	..	.49	203	.44 r obtained by age entry. .49 by double entry.
11	Carter	1931	Arithmetic tests Vocabulary tests	..	..	..	.21 .35	Siblings of 198 families	
12	Burks and Tolman	1932	I.Q.	..	..	..	.65	34	Like— appear- ing sib- ling pairs of ele- mentary schools.
12	Burks and Tolman	1932	I.Q.	..	..	..	.67	32	Like— appear- ing sib- ling pairs of jr. and sr. high school.
12	Burks and Tolman	1932	I.Q.	..	..	..	.61	52	Unlike— ap- pear- ing sib- ling pairs of jr. and sr. high school.

<sup>1</sup>These are Pearson r's.

<sup>2</sup>Investigations previous to 1925 summarized in this study.

<sup>3</sup>Behavior A—speed test—possibility of deceiving by adding scores after time is called.

<sup>4</sup>Behavior C—copying test—possibility of copying from a key or answer sheet.

<sup>5</sup>Behavior P—peeping—deception measured by pupils opening eyes or peeping.

<sup>6</sup>Behavior H—securing help on a test taken at home after being definitely instructed not to get help from any source. The high r obtained may be due to collusion.

Note—Most I.Q.'s reported are based on the Stanford-Binet.

These results have provoked argument both for and against the influence of heredity and for and against the influence of environment. Would an analysis of sibling resemblance in social attitudes throw further light on this problem as well as on the relative effectiveness of several environmental factors which tend to influence attitudes?

It is quite inconceivable to postulate that social attitudes are a result of certain hereditary factors. One is not favorably inclined towards the recognition of Soviet Russia by the United States because of a certain arrangement of genes in the chromosomes. It must be, then, that a favorable attitude towards the recognition of Soviet Russia is due either to a certain acquisition of facts relative to the case or to certain environmental factors which play their part in influencing a person towards or away from this particular social value.

In this study an attempt is made to determine the effect of two of these environmental factors—that of the home and the school. When siblings are compared with unrelated children who are of approximately the same age, the same sex, attend the same school, and live in the same locality, and it is found that siblings show a greater resemblance in social attitudes than unrelated pairs, it can be argued that the factor which accounts for this greater resemblance is a common home environment. It can also be argued that whatever relationship is found for unrelated children must be due to the factor of a common school environment.

#### CONDITIONS OF TESTING

The testing was done under standard conditions in the classroom by people who were experienced with standard testing situations. The test was given to the regular students with the instructions that Columbia University was interested in finding out what the attitudes of high-school students were and that, upon completion of the testing, the

blanks would be sent directly to the University. There had been no special circumstances to influence the attitudes of the students previous to this testing. By this method, it was felt that truthful responses would be obtained from the students since there was no fear of endangering student status because the school authorities would not see their papers.

#### NATURE OF THE DATA

The social attitudes of about 4,000 high-school pupils in ten senior high schools were measured by the Neumann, Kulp, and Davidson International Attitudes Test.<sup>1</sup> This is a paper-and-pencil test of 108 items which relate to international, interracial, political, and social problems. The test has a reliability ranging from .870 to .943. The final score is an average of all the endorsed statements—a low score indicating a liberal attitude, and a high score a conservative attitude.

On the Sims Home Background Test (which was also given to this group), one of the questions asked is: "If you have brothers or sisters in this school, write their names and grades on these lines." In this manner, it was possible to determine accurately the sibling pairs used in this study.

Nine of the ten high schools from which the sibling data were drawn are located in the State of Pennsylvania. The tenth is located in southern New Jersey, near Philadelphia. All the schools represent about the same type of community—suburban-residential. The students were in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth grades of the high school. Their ages ranged from 13½ to 19½ years.

#### TREATMENT OF THE DATA

The group studied consisted of 91 pairs of brothers, 85 pairs of sisters, and 155 pairs of brothers and sisters—making a total of 331 pairs. Included in the 331 pairs

<sup>1</sup>Published by the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.

are ten families of three siblings each. In these instances, all possible combinations were inserted for the purpose of computing the correlations. There were also nine pairs of twins in the data. These were included because it was found that their exclusion made no difference in the correlation coefficients (*see* Table II).

TABLE II  
Sibling vs. Non sibling Resemblance in Social Attitudes  
Correlation Coefficients

	Sibling Pairs			Random Pairs		
	Number of Pairs	Age* Entry	Number of Pairs	Double Entry of Pairs	Number	Age Entry
Brothers.....	91	.29 ± .06 <sup>1</sup>	182	.29 ± .05	88	.11 ± .07
Sisters.....	85	.41 ± .06	170	.39 ± .04	82	.02 ± .07
Brother vs. sister ....	158	.39 ± .06	310	.30 ± .03	150	-.16 ± .05
All pairs.....	331	.32 ± .03	662	.32 ± .02	320	-.05 ± .04

\*When the nine pairs of twins are excluded, the r's are, respectively, .27, .40, .29, .31.  
<sup>1</sup>It is somewhat difficult to compute the probable errors for the above correlations due to the fact that certain individuals entered the correlation tables more than once (the ten families of three siblings each). However, the error involved is very slight and the correction would probably not change the probable error more than one point in the second decimal.

Since there is still some doubt as to what is the best method to use in computing intraclass correlations, it was decided to present the results for both the age-entry method and the double-entry method. In the age method, the younger of a pair was placed on the y axis and the older on the x axis. In the double-entry method, the older and younger of each pair were placed on both axes, thus forming a symmetrical table with N equal to the number of entries.

The random pairs were made up as follows: In tabulating the data, the older sibling was listed in one column and the younger in another column, keeping schools, as well as sisters, brothers, brothers and sisters, on separate lists. To make up the random pairs, one list was inverted; that is, the first name on one list was paired with the last on the other list, the second name was paired with the one next to the last, etc. In case of an odd number of names, the middle pair had to be dropped since they were true siblings. This accounts for the difference in number of random pairs and in the number of sibling pairs. Thus the random pairs are identical, with respect to school, sex, and age with the sibling pairs.

## RESULTS

From Table II, it is clearly seen that resemblance of siblings in social attitudes can be measured by a correlation coefficient of about .32 and resemblance of random pairs can be measured by a coefficient of about 0.00.

The age-entry and the double-entry methods in the case of the sibling pairs give identical results and, therefore, it was unnecessary to use the double-entry method in calculating the correlation coefficients for the random pairs. This indicates probably that age (within this narrow range) is not a factor in social attitudes. In fact, it was found that the mean attitude score of 331 younger siblings was 3.79 and the mean attitude score of 331 older siblings was 3.78.

The range of attitude scores for this group was from 2.4 to 4.7. It is possible to obtain scores on this test as low as 1.6 (liberal) and as high as 6.4 (conservative). It may be that if a group were studied whose age range was greater—thus probably making for a greater range in attitude score—the  $r$  obtained between siblings would be higher than here reported. The  $r$ 's, as given, are all uncorrected. It was felt that corrections for attenuation would be untenable considering the size of the correlation coefficients.

It may be said that with an  $r$  of .32, the resemblance between siblings amounts to 5 per cent ( $1 - \sqrt{1 - r^2}$ ) while with an  $r$  of 0, obtained for random pairs, the resemblance amounts to 0 per cent. Although this difference is small, it is, nevertheless, worth while to inquire what the cause is of even this small difference.

## INTERPRETATION

It is comparatively easy to argue that resemblance in intelligence between siblings is due mainly to a similar heredity and only slightly to a similar environment. But this is not so in the case of social attitudes. Whatever

similarity is found among siblings must be due to a similar environment. And since unrelated children in the same school who live in the same locality are found to show no resemblance, then, the resemblance found between siblings must be due to certain factors present in the home. It is not the purpose of this paper to say definitely what these factors are although one can readily think of such things as the parents' attitude as reflected in their conversation, the kinds of magazines and books brought into the home, the occupation of the father, the family income, etc. It is hoped in a future study to control the factors of I.Q. and home background (as measured by the Sims test) by making up random pairs who have the same I.Q. and home background. Sims (10) compared unrelated children matched for home background, age, and school and found a correlation between intelligence quotients of about .30 instead of the usual correlation of 0.00. He argues, therefore, that a common environment produces an  $r$  of .30 while the addition of a common parentage raises the  $r$  to about .42 (the  $r$  obtained between siblings).

This is certain, then, that the home is, in general respects, more potent in influencing social attitudes than the school. This fact becomes still more surprising when the age of the subjects of this study is considered. It would seem that by the time a person reaches the senior high school, his attitude would be more greatly influenced by the school than by the home.

Another question may be raised. Why do sisters show a greater resemblance in social attitudes than do brothers? Obvious explanations for this greater resemblance are that sisters are probably more closely supervised by the home and so are more influenced by it and also that their experiences outside the home are likely to be more alike than in the case of brothers. Possibly experiences both outside the home and outside the school are as potent as the combined influence of the home and the school. Such experi-

ences may be: seeing a movie, meeting an impressive person of another race, reading a story.

The resemblance of siblings in social attitudes is somewhat less than sibling resemblance in physical traits or in intelligence and about the same as resemblance in school achievement and deception. But does not the likeness of correlation between attitudes and siblings and intelligence and siblings raise questions as to the so-called hereditary character of intelligence? Or as in attitudes, deception, and school achievement, does the similarity of correlations indicate a social causation of intelligence or suggest the necessity for a sociological definition of intelligence?

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## RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

### RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

The extent of educational research in recent years has been very great. There has obviously been a growing tendency to attempt to make education scientific and to base it upon the findings of research. The quality of this research has varied. There is no question, however, but that educational research in general needs to take stock of itself and to make progress in the direction of objectivity and of applying itself to vital problems. In an article on "Research and the Schools," Robert A. Davis<sup>1</sup> has made some very pertinent and important observations on this question in an attempt to evaluate the needs and methods of research in this field.

The following paragraph is quoted from Mr. Davis's article to indicate the growth and extent of educational research.

In education last year 4,651 research studies which represent an expenditure of more than \$10,000,000 in time and money were made. In addition to university presses, commercial houses, and a large number of public school-research bureaus which publish findings of investigations, there are approximately fifteen periodicals in the fields of psychology, sociology, physiology, and medicine which publish investigations relating to problems in education. Analysis of such sources from their beginning to the present gives a fair index of the amount and character of research produced in this country. It is also possible from such study to trace accurately the development of the scientific movement in education. An examination of thirteen periodicals within the field of education, psychology, sociology, and medicine shows more than 15,000 studies which bear upon educational problems. As further evidence of this extraordinary growth in research new periodicals continue to appear.

<sup>1</sup> *Journal of Educational Research*, April 1933, p. 561 ff.

## WORLD'S FAIR RESEARCH CONFERENCE

From June 26 to June 29, 1933, the American Sociological Society coöperated with the Society for Social Research in holding a series of morning round tables of research at the University of Chicago. The program included reports on researches in progress as well as discussions of methods and techniques of research. This occasion was of particular interest because of the joint meetings of the American Sociological Society, the American Statistical Association, and Section K of the American Association for the Advancement of Science which presented a distinguished program at the evening meetings.

The research sessions were organized around the following topics:

1. Graphic Presentation and Map Making
2. The Family
3. Rural Sociology
4. Crime
5. Collective Behavior
6. Minimum Standards of Training in Research Techniques
7. Experimental Social Psychology
8. Prediction and Forecasting

## NEW YORK STATE RESEARCH CONFERENCE

On May 1, 1933, the second annual educational research conference was held under the auspices of the Research Division (under the directorship of Dr. Warren W. Coxe) of the University of the State of New York of the State Education Department at Albany. The following program was presented under the chairmanship of Dr. George D. Strayer, Director, Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University.

"The Attitudes of Municipal Officials Towards Public Education"

William P. Capes, Secretary, Conference of Mayors, Albany, N. Y.

Discussion: R. B. Raup, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

"Implications for Education Growing Out of a Study of Young Criminals"

Walter N. Thayer, Jr., Department of Correction, Albany, N. Y.  
Discussion: Frederic M. Thrasher, School of Education, New York University, New York, N. Y.

"Economic Lessons from the Depression and Their Bearing on Education"

Sidney Wilcox, Department of Labor, Albany, N. Y.

Discussion: Harold Clark, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

"Types of Educational Research Which are Needed to Meet Present Problems"

Paul J. Kruse, Cornell University, Ithaca, N. Y.

Discussion: Harry P. Smith, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N. Y.

#### JUVENILE DELINQUENCY RESEARCH

The National Recreational Association<sup>2</sup> has released a list and brief description of thirty-seven studies in juvenile delinquency. These researches represent a section from the compilation of research projects in recreation and physical education made by the Recreation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation.

The studies deal with a wide variety of subjects. Some of these are the effects of motion pictures on delinquency, runaway boys, crime prevention through education, the relation of spare time to delinquency, and neighborhood and family influences in the deduction of juvenile delinquency.

<sup>2</sup> 315 Fourth Avenue, New York City. Bulletin 2853.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Industry and Society*, by ARTHUR JAMES TODD. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 626+xiv pages.

For those who are seeking to understand and appraise modern industrialism from the point of view of fact rather than theory, this book will be of inestimable value. It is divided into five major parts: first, the detailed indictment of modern industrialism by various types of critics; second, a brief review of the socio-historical aspects of the machine age; third, a review of the impact of industrialism upon the Far East to determine whether certain stigmata of capitalistic machine industry are inherently necessary; fourth, a detailed study of such social problems as wages, insecurity, and health in their relation to industry; fifth, proposed antidotes and remedies for its alleged "evils."

*A History of the Economic Institutions of Modern Europe*, by FREDERICK L. NUSSBAUM. New York: F. S. Crofts and Company, 1933, 448 pages.

In this book Professor Nussbaum makes a most notable contribution to the study of economic history. For the first time we have presented to us not the cut-and-dried material which has always dismayed teachers of economic history, but rather fresh and invigorating ideas which attempt to subject European economic development to a reasoned analysis. The book itself is divided into four parts: Precapitalistic Economy, The Foundations of Modern Capitalism, Early Capitalism, and Capitalism Dominant.

What Professor Nussbaum has tried to do is to provide for the student an introduction to Werner Sombart's *Der Moderne Kapitalismus* which unfortunately has not as yet been translated into English. The author follows Sombart closely and intelligently, thus providing a text which should prove a Godsend to teachers who have been searching for the right book.

*Collective Bargaining in Chicago, 1929-1930, A Study of the Economic Significance of the Industrial Location of Trade-Unionism*, by C. LAWRENCE CHRISTENSON. No. 27, Social Science Studies. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933, 396 pages.

Part of the author's work was to get the figures with which to locate in what industries unions were relatively strong. He has a chapter on each of the main industry groups. For each industry he notes the factors which make for or against union strength and also analyzes the current collective agreement. The chapters are filled with detail, interesting to the student. The conclusion perhaps contains nothing startlingly new, but reminds us again that the factory is after all not the place to look for the American unionist.

*Emergency Work Relief*, by J. C. COLCORD, WILLIAM C. KOPLOVITZ, and RUSSELL H. KURTZ. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1932, 286 pages.

This volume describes the programs of emergency work relief—"relief given in return for work performed"—as carried out in 26 American communities during 1930-1931 and makes suggestions for setting up an effective work-relief program. The survey was made by the charity-organization department of the Russell Sage Foundation at the request of former President Hoover's Organization for Unemployment Relief.

*Forced Labor in the United States*, by WALTER WILSON. New York: International Publishers Company, 1933, 192 pages.

Defining forced labor as "work that is done by a worker in the absence of a 'free contract' between himself and his employer," Mr. Wilson discusses in a very interesting manner the various types of forced labor found at the present time in the United States. Among the subjects treated are convict labor, the chain gang, and peonage. Much has been written recently about these but Mr. Wilson has done a worthwhile job in gathering the various scattered materials.

*Women in the Twentieth Century*, by SOPHONISBA P. BRECKINRIDGE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, 364 pages.

This monograph is a rather extensive elaboration of the material comprised in Volume I, Chapter XIV, of *Recent Social Trends*, which was prepared by the same author. The volume is divided into three parts: Part I, Women's Use of Spare Time; Part II, Women and Gainful Employment; Part III, Women and Government. The entire publication is readable, informative, and an excellent source of information on all the topics included. From no other single source would it be possible to secure such adequate information.

*Immigration*, by LAWRENCE G. BROWN. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1933, 388 pages.

Seeks to determine the extent to which, in the process of adjustment to the American social culture, the immigrant's cultural heritage helps or hinders. A study of the processes of the adjustment of racial minorities to a modern, complex civilization. The author assumes two phases basic to this process of adjustment; namely, the social nature of the immigrant and the social situation to which adjustment must be made. In the development of these phases of the problem of immigrant adjustment the author discusses in the first part of the book "immigra-

tion and human nature" and in the second "the periods of immigration and the types of immigrants indicating the peculiar problem of adjustment which each group faces."

*Slums, Large-Scale Housing and Decentralization*, by President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Washington, D. C., 1932, 245 pages.

This volume is easily one of the best of the series of reports issued by the President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. After a graphic description of housing conditions in slum areas, the report discusses the need for remedying these conditions, pointing out the incidence of the damages caused by slums and blighted areas. There is a very useful discussion of the problems involved in getting rid of such districts, as well as a comprehensive treatment of the various aspects of large-scale operations together with a brief statement on the condition of different model housing projects already in operation.

*Farm and Village Housing*, by President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Washington, D. C., 1932, 293 pages.

Most people think of a housing problem as primarily an urban one. It comes as somewhat of a surprise, then to learn that "in general, the farmhouse has lagged behind the city house in the essentials of sanitation, convenience, and comfort." Having made a comprehensive survey of the physical conditions of rural housing, the relation of such housing to health, the questions of financing and insurance, and the cost of the dwellings, the Committee on Farm and Village Housing comes to the conclusion that the major causes of the lower standard of rural housing are "long-established home habits and a good deal of mental inertia." It points out that education and research are essential for a solution of the problem and lays down the beginnings of a remedial program.

*Negro Housing*, by President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Washington, D. C., 1932, 282 pages.

The literature on the subject of Negro housing is amazingly scant. The report of the President's Conference, then, comes as a most welcome addition to the literature in the field. In the completeness of its survey and in the thoroughness of its analysis it has no peers among the books on Negro housing. In view of the conditions portrayed the recommendations appeared strangely timid. However, it should be remembered that the composition of the committee would have rendered impossible agreement on a more comprehensive program for reform.

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## EDITORIAL

The third special issue of THE JOURNAL for the present year is devoted to Negro education, with special emphasis upon the work of Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute and its contribution to the education of colored young men and women of the South.

The offering of this material to the readers of THE JOURNAL needs no explanation, because we have in the example of Tuskegee one of the great contributions to applied sociology, for this institution has been, for the past half century, making its outstanding contribution to an important phase of social adjustment through education to which the new science of educational sociology is devoting itself.

The presentation of the principles and practices of Tuskegee has been selected for this special issue because this institution presents one of the best, if not the best, examples of education conceived in the light of social needs, both among the white and colored schools of the country. This statement is not meant to imply that other institutions for the education of the Negro are not doing distinctive work in their particular fields, for the work of any one might serve to illustrate the transformation that is taking place in the social conditions of the South through the work of the various Negro colleges and secondary schools. Tus-

kegee, however, represents this movement more adequately than any, and we are giving emphasis to its work for that reason.

The articles that are presented in this issue give a complete picture of certain aspects of Negro education, an education designed to raise the cultural levels of a group by equipping them with the facilities for making effective contributions to American social life and culture. The distinctive point about Tuskegee is that while devoting itself to the improvement of the educational, social, cultural, and economic status of the race, it has at the same time made its contribution to a new theory of education. It has practically demonstrated the value of an educational program conceived and carried out with a fundamental notion of learning to do and to live. That is, after all, the only important function of education in a democracy. While theorists have been arriving at this conclusion, Tuskegee has been living it.

## THE SCOPE AND AIM OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE

ROBERT R. MOTON

Principal, Tuskegee Institute

In 1881 the State Legislature of Alabama authorized the setting aside of \$2,000 to be used for teachers' salaries in establishing a "normal school for the training of colored teachers" at Tuskegee. Hence the "Normal" in the name "Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute." But there were neither buildings nor grounds; the man placed at the head of the school would have to find these for himself. It was this situation that gave to Booker T. Washington, recommended by General Armstrong, principal of Hampton Institute in Virginia, his opportunity. How well he used it all the world now knows.

At Hampton Institute the founder of Tuskegee had seen the working out of a plan whereby emancipated slaves were being made self-supporting, intelligent citizens, and leaders of their own people on the pathway of progress. As one of the emancipated slaves and as a raw youth from the salt furnaces of West Virginia, he had been transformed under the guidance of the principal of Hampton Institute, General Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who had been a leader of Negro troops in the Civil War and was the son of missionary parents in the Hawaiian Islands. The missionaries there had successfully employed manual arts in the process of training the sons of native chieftains and leaders towards the ways and standards of the white man's civilization. What Booker Washington saw and learned at Hampton he put into practice in his own way at Tuskegee; and the methods then developed have, in principle, been continuously employed since that time.

Beginning in a modest little Methodist church on the outskirts of the town, this resourceful leader had, by the second year, secured some fifty or more acres of ground and had erected two small frame buildings as the nucleus of his educational plant. At once he was faced with two

problems. One was the task of erecting his plant. The other was the task of supporting his students, who, though eager for education, were without the means to provide support for themselves. He turned to the public for the funds necessary to carry on his work and to secure materials and tools. To help earn support for themselves, he put his students to work clearing grounds, erecting buildings, raising foodstuffs, and performing all the services connected with the operation of the school; and thus the word "Industrial" was put into the name of the school, which at first was simply known as the "Tuskegee State Normal School."

As set forth more fully in other articles in the present issue of *THE JOURNAL*, the founder of Tuskegee Institute believed in, and taught, the dignity of labor. Booker T. Washington realized that this was what the people in the South among whom he came to work needed; and he set out in a systematic manner to meet this need. His thought was that this doctrine would not only be of value to the Negro group economically, but also would relate itself to the life of all the people in such a manner that its influence would be felt by black and white alike.

The purpose was that Tuskegee's graduates should go out into the world and make a place for themselves as useful, reliable, competent citizens. It was the spirit of the founder of the school and has become fundamental in the outlook of the school that education should make a man or a woman both competent and resourceful, thus capable of finding or creating a place for himself.

Keeping this thought in mind the object of Tuskegee Institute through the years has been, primarily, to promote the economic interests of Negroes with the social implications that naturally follow.

At the time Tuskegee was founded the economic interest of the Negro could best be served by training him to meet the needs of an almost entirely rural and domestic economy. One of the chief aims of Tuskegee became the encouraging of home and land ownership and the development of farms.

Tuskegee endeavored to train the Negro to be an agriculturist rather than a planter. That is, even back in those early days, the value of diversified crops as against the one staple crop, generally cotton, was stressed. The Negro was taught the necessity of raising his own live stock and poultry, of producing his own dairy products, and of having his own vegetable garden. This was not only a school program but one to be used in the development of adjacent communities and of Negroes throughout the South.

Tuskegee also aimed in this early period to train students to be, and to teach others to be, skilled tradesmen or artisans. This instruction was largely designed to the end that the Negro could build and keep in repair his home, his farmhouses, and his tools. It was designed also to enable him to become a journeyman or an independent worker in some trade. Although Negroes trained at Tuskegee were entering the coal and iron developments in Chattanooga and Birmingham shortly after the school was established, the general call of the Negro to industry had not yet come. It was, at that time, therefore, not urgent that he be trained specifically for more highly organized industry.

Tuskegee continues to emphasize the possibilities of the Negro in agriculture. Its agricultural program today is endeavoring to meet the new needs of the Negro farmer just as the program of the first thirty years of the school's life endeavored to meet the needs existing then. Our program of agricultural instruction is more fully discussed in another article, but we may state here that along with our efforts to keep up with the scientific developments in agriculture, and the adaptation of machinery to agricultural uses, we are also aware of the increasing importance of the larger view of the economics of agriculture.

While we view agriculture as a basic occupation of the Negro, we also realize that the Negro must continue to make progress in industry if he is to have a balanced economic life.

In adhering to the objective of promoting the economic

interests of the Negro, Tuskegee endeavors to keep keenly alive to the changes that take place in the conditions under which the Negro lives and his relation to American society at any given time. Consequently, one of Tuskegee's immediate objectives is to prepare the Negro to fill a larger place in the industrial life of America. The period of the World War brought the call of industry to the Negro. The curve showing the march of the Negro into industry went up sharply in 1917. Many persons trained at Tuskegee or taught by persons trained there made highly satisfactory adjustments in what was for them the new field of mass production.

There was, however, an apparent need of the development of a program of training more closely related to the conditions of modern industry. The enlarged occupational opportunities for the Negro, his migrations into different sections of the United States, labor conditions peculiar to different sections and industries have made it necessary for Tuskegee to recast, to some extent, its vocational program.

Tuskegee is striving, therefore, to develop a trades program that has a definite correlation with the needs and demands of the Negro in industry. This requires a wider and more varied program of vocational guidance and counseling. We are assisting in efforts to establish a more complete rapport between industry and labor on the one hand, and the technically trained and skilled Negro workman on the other. It is important for organized industry to see in the Negro race a reservoir from which can come competent skilled laborers and trained technicians. It is necessary for the Negro to make himself more available and acceptable to industry. This problem of the relation of the Negro to industry is one of the pressing phases of the Negro's economic interest, and it is the aim of Tuskegee to aid in its solution.

Another way in which Tuskegee aims to promote the economic interest of the Negro is to work directly with the people on their farms and in their various communities.

Early in the history of the institution a program was set up for carrying the methods and standards of the school into the neighboring communities where life was in many instances on a pathetically low plane, as was apparent in the young people who came to the school. The one-room log cabin was typical of the condition in which the vast majority of Negroes lived when Tuskegee began its work. To add rooms to that cabin, to change its interior, to plant a garden beside it, to put flowers in the yard in front of it, to increase and vary its food supply, to enlarge and sweeten all the life about it became a definite aim of the founder. Thus originated the several extension activities of the school, including in particular the agricultural demonstration work and the rural-school improvement work.

He conceived the local school as a most important agency through which to promote efforts for community improvement. Such a school with lengthened term, a modern up-to-date school building, and a well-trained teacher provided a place from which an effective appeal for community betterment could be made. With the school building as an *example, a campaign for better homes and improvement* in health and sanitation and in moral and religious conditions could be made with highly desirable results.

No less important than the objective already discussed is the work of promoting good will and coöperation between the two races in the South. There is no one who seriously questions Tuskegee's zeal in behalf of the Negro. Its *methods at first did not have the universal approval* of the members of the race that it was designed to serve; but all men recognize the school as having played a leading part in the advancement of the Negro. At the same time the school has been no less interested in using every legitimate means to awaken the consciousness of the white race to the needs of black people, and to awaken their consciences to the justice of the Negro's claims to a larger measure of consideration in all matters of economic, civic, social, and political welfare. What has been accomplished along this line of better race relations has greatly facilitated

the work of the school in promoting the economic interests of the Negro. In fact, it would not be an overstatement to say that this promotion would have been greatly retarded without the understanding and good will between the races thus fostered and nurtured throughout the years.

Tuskegee Institute has been in the past and continues to be, as much as anything else, a tangible demonstration of the Negro's capacity to do what other people do and to express his own life without the restrictions and restraints imposed upon him in communities and organizations controlled and directed by white people. Tuskegee Institute is thus, in still another sense, more than the conventional school. It is a community of some 3,000 persons in which Negroes serve where every phase of its life is concerned. It manages its own savings bank and post office; it operates its own water system, its power plant, and its 1,000-acre farm. The entire community is in the hands of qualified and experienced members of the Negro race.

Tuskegee Institute is still in the making. It is still growing both as a result of the ideas incorporated in its establishment and because of the development of the race that it serves. To continue that service it must ever endeavor to keep step with the changing times. With the passing of years nothing has altered the spirit of the institution placed there by the founder; but its methods and policy, from time to time, have been altered to meet new needs.

If the school can continue to develop its students to become economically competent and serviceable and can bring to the Negro race a larger measure of opportunity in American life and a higher place in the recognition of all men; and if, at the same time, it can assist in demonstrating to the nation and the world that two races however different can live side by side in mutual respect and consideration so that the interests of each will be conserved, then it shall have fulfilled the objectives so ardently worked for by Booker T. Washington.



## THE RELATION OF TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE TO EDUCATION IN THE LOWER SOUTH

ALPHONSE HENINGBURG

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When the Negro emerged from slavery it was recognized that education would be one of the principal means of his uplift. There had not been before this time anywhere in the world a large-scale attempt to educate Negroes. Much doubt and skepticism was expressed as to whether this could be done; some even said that the Negro did not have the requisite brain capacity. Despite these doubts and fears, however, his education on a large scale was begun.

This attempted mass education of the Negro created a great demand for teachers and accounted to a large extent for the many normal schools and colleges established for Negroes throughout the South. It is worthy of note that these schools were strategically placed from Virginia to Texas. Their accessibility enabled students to complete a normal or college course without leaving the South. This was a very important factor in promoting the progress of the group. Tuskegee Institute, situated in the heart of the black belt, was one of these strategically placed schools.

The ten-year period preceding the coming of Booker T. Washington to Tuskegee was one that marked much educational activity in Alabama. The trend of public opinion was in favor of an extended system of public education. "In 1871 . . . the University of Alabama had been reopened; in 1872 the State Agricultural and Mechanical College in Auburn was founded; in 1873 . . . the first State Normal College for Whites was opened at Florence, and in the same year the first State Normal and Industrial School for Negroes, near Huntsville, now known as the Alabama Agricultural and Mechanical College at Normal in the extreme north of the State, was founded; while in 1876-7 the State Legislature provided for a State system of public education with a State Superintendent. . . . In

the year 1880, just prior to the founding of Tuskegee Institute, 72,007 Negroes, averaging 50,184 daily, were in 1,512 public schools, albeit the average school term was only 67 days and the total appropriation for all public schools in the State both white and colored was only \$397,-465, or much less than the budget of Tuskegee alone last year."<sup>1</sup> Although this annual appropriation seems to us today pitifully small, we see in the activities of this period the beginning of a new attitude towards public education.

Those who have studied the matter of the distribution of public-school funds in the South know that such monies are not always distributed on the basis of population. It seems something of a travesty, too, that the poorest section of our country should, through its own conception of social necessity, be shouldered with a dual system of schools; for the South, instead of having simply a school population, has in reality *two* such populations: one black and one white. With these two facts in mind, we can more easily understand the following statement taken from a speech made by Booker T. Washington before the National Educational Association in 1884: "Schoolhouses are needed in every township and county. The present wrecks of log cabins and bush harbors, where many of the schools are now taught, must be replaced by comfortable, decent houses. In many of the schoolhouses rails are used for seats, and often the fire is on the outside of the house, while teachers and scholars are on the inside. Add to this a teacher who can scarcely write his name, and who is as weak mentally as morally, and you then have but a faint idea of the educational condition of many parts of the South."<sup>2</sup>

The establishing of Tuskegee Institute indicated that the people of Alabama—white and Negro—had become conscious of the need for improving the public schools. There was in the little town of Tuskegee a Negro, Lewis Adams, who was a remarkable combination of vision and

<sup>1</sup>Anson Phelps Stokes, *Tuskegee Institute the First 50 Years* (Tuskegee, Ala.: Tuskegee Institute Press, 1931), page 9.

<sup>2</sup>E. Davidson Washington, *Selected Speeches of Booker T. Washington* (Garden City, N. Y.: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Inc., 1932), page 8.

common sense. He was highly regarded by every one, white and black, in the community. It was he who first urged the establishment in the town of a normal school for his race. He had never had a day's formal schooling, but he could read and write and had learned three trades: tin-smithing, shoemaking, and harness making. With the support of white friends he got the State Legislature of Alabama to appropriate \$2,000 "to establish at Tuskegee a normal school for colored teachers."

Now came the problem of selecting a man to become the head of this new institution. Application was made to General Armstrong, principal of Hampton Institute in Virginia, who recommended Booker T. Washington. This young Hampton graduate, full of eagerness for his new work, found in the town of Tuskegee, in addition to Lewis Adams, a white population which was not averse to having a school for the training of Negro teachers within its confines. To these more or less intangible but none the less real assets may be added one dilapidated church which the new principal might use as a school.

That opening day was one of great interest to all concerned. Some of the students were much older than the new teacher, while several were still in their teens. In the few books available both Latin and Greek were represented. With these students, and in this church into which "some rain must fall," were initiated, for Negroes and for America, new ideas in normal and industrial training.

The possession of a Greek grammar in such an environment was little short of tragic. Its owner was ready to make preparations for a plunge into Greek mythology, but was entirely unacquainted with a toothbrush. It must be explained, however, that these first students, that is, those who had already seen service as teachers, were pursuing education as they had seen it pursued by others. In the schools for whites Latin and Greek were taught; so it was only natural that these unguided Negroes should have made the same mistakes as did their white contemporaries, who in this instance were equally unfortunate.

From the first day, the old order was scrapped by the "new teacher." The fine arts were put to rout by elemental essentials: the proper application of soap and whitewash were more important than the study of diction. It soon became evident that here was a man ready to train people to meet the conditions in which they found themselves, rather than to follow blindly the traditions of former centuries. Bravely he engaged in the monumental task of proving to former slaves and to their children that honest work is ever honorable; this, too, in a section in which the whites also looked down upon work in haughty disdain.

It must be explained here that the pernicious system of slavery had caused many Southerners to look with contempt upon all forms of manual labor. The population could, as late as 1880 and even today, be roughly divided into three classes: (1) owners of plantations (former slaveholders and their heirs), (2) "poor whites," (3) Negroes. The great plantation owners had founded a tradition of leisure and culture upon slave labor; the "poor whites," seeking for some basis of superiority, often shunned all work as being the province of blacks only; while the descendants of slaves were eager to break away from the stigma of labor. Thus it developed that in the twenty-year period following the Emancipation Proclamation the South had arrayed itself against the one thing needed—work. It became Mr. Washington's problem, then, to convince thinking people of the North and South that a program of industry would mean the salvation of the Negro, and to convince the Negro that he could not divorce himself from toil.

As late as 1916, when I, myself, was planning to enter Tuskegee Institute, I met with one of the arguments which Booker T. Washington must have faced many times. My father was a fairly successful contractor, although his school work had not extended beyond the third grade. When I approached him relative to my leaving he said, "Why think of going to school to learn to work?" His attitude was one of sympathy where education for surgery or medicine was concerned; but not in the case of industrial arts.

Mr. William Gregory, a member of the first class at Tuskegee Institute, was disappointed when he learned that all students had to work. In those early days, many parents who talked about the "college" did not want their children to work at all. In fact, they believed that one obtained an education in order not to have to perform manual labor. The following statement is taken from the Tuskegee Institute catalogue for 1881-1882: "All applicants, before admission, must be fourteen years of age and must pledge themselves to teach two years in the public schools of this State after they have become qualified, but they are not expected to teach without compensation; they must also furnish satisfactory proof of good moral character." To this we should like to add a paragraph from the catalogue of 1932-1933: "Tuskegee Institute has for its central objective the training of young men and women for service and usefulness. Its vocational program provides for instruction and guidance that will enable graduates to meet effectively the economic and educational problems of present-day community life."

It was in these directions, as pointed out, that Tuskegee Institute exerted a great influence on education in the lower South. It taught Negroes, as is indicated elsewhere, the importance of training the hand as well as the head; it taught them the dignity of labor.

The graduates and former students of the institution have been potent factors in spreading the Tuskegee idea throughout the whole South. The importance of their work has been described in another article in this series. It is fitting, however, to point out here that they have established some eighteen offshoots of Tuskegee Institute in various sections of the South. The more important are:

Mount Meigs Institute (Montgomery County Training School),  
Waugh, Alabama  
Snow Hill Normal and Industrial Institute, Snow Hill, Alabama  
Robert Hungerford Industrial School, Eatonville, Florida  
Utica Normal and Industrial Institute, Utica, Mississippi  
Voorhees Industrial School, Denmark, South Carolina  
North Louisiana Agricultural and Industrial Institute, Grambling,  
Louisiana

One of the direct results of the Tuskegee idea of education was its effect upon the better class of whites as related to their opinions about the Negro. Their eyes were slowly opened to the fact that community progress depended on the advancement of the Negroes as well as of the whites. This new feeling was manifested in two ways: a larger support of Tuskegee Institute and more attention to improving public schools for Negroes. The great influence of the Jeanes and Slater Foundations and the Julius Rosenwald Fund in this connection are elsewhere described.

It is true without doubt that Tuskegee Institute has exerted an influence on the education of the whites of the South. It is also true that it is difficult to measure this influence. One example, however, is the improvement of rural schools for Negroes through the Rosenwald School House Building Campaign. This movement for improving Negro schools caused the erection of new and better school buildings for rural whites. The Tuskegee idea of education has helped to popularize industrial and vocational training in the South. This has resulted in larger provisions being made in the public schools and in other ways for the industrial and vocational training of white pupils in cities and towns as well as in the rural districts. Looking thus historically at the relation of Tuskegee Institute to education in the lower South, it is apparent that the school has done more than share with other institutions the meeting of educational needs as then currently understood. The penetrating understanding of those needs by Booker T. Washington and the methods he instituted to meet them developed a type of education which was a distinctive contribution to both educational theory and practice. The methods of Booker T. Washington vitalized education for Negroes, but hardly less for whites, by linking it to basic and fundamental needs. This has reflected itself in the inclusion, generally, of vocational training in the program of formal education.

## DOES NEGRO EDUCATION PAY?

WILLIAM A. CLARK

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The South, ever since the emancipation of its slaves, has been raising the question: Does it pay to educate the Negro? Why is this question continually raised about the Negro? We never hear it raised about the education of white people. Visitors to white schools would not think of asking, "How many of your graduates are in jail?" It would be absurd to discuss "Does Negro education pay?" were it not for the fact that this question is one that is ever being asked. It must ever be answered.

During slavery the policy was to prohibit Negroes from acquiring even the rudiments of an education. This was based on the experience that ignorant slaves were the most docile. There was a definite fear of educated Negroes which had grown out of the uprisings during slavery led by slaves who had received some education. The South not only found it inexpedient to permit the education of the slaves, but also felt impelled to propagandize against such a practice. It was taught in this connection that the Negro in every way was inferior to other races.

When the Negroes were freed, the South was skeptical of the ability of the recently emancipated slaves to take on citizenship responsibilities and orderly habits. The freed men were on trial. The question was raised whether under freedom they would deteriorate physically and morally. The publication in 1896 of Hoffman's *Race Traits and Tendencies of the American Negro* appeared to substantiate this view.

Always in everything, a Negro was required to prove himself. If he represented himself as a mechanic he had to prove himself not only to be a good mechanic but a better-than-usual mechanic. He was required to stand far above the herd in order to be observed or recognized. Then, if employed, he usually worked for much less than the average white man in the occupation.

So it was with the race. It was always on trial in every phase of endeavor and in every human interest. This doubt

of ability cast an eternal shadow to darken and obstruct the path of the Negro to complete freedom of development. Only a few years ago this general doubt was expressed by a governor of a Southern State in an address to a graduating class of a Negro school. He said, "You represent a group which yet must prove itself in every way. The white man has already shown his ability through centuries of progressive development. Your group must prove that it merits the rights of citizenship." This same view has been held and expressed by other white leaders in the South.

It was more or less general in discussions of the problem of the education of the Negro to demand proof that this education paid, and, if so, how it paid. There was a demand for proof that education made the Negro a better and a more serviceable citizen. It was the task of Tuskegee and other schools for Negroes to show that it did pay to educate them.

The question of values in Negro education has been raised largely because of the dearth of accurate data upon which to base estimates of values. Most of the answers were based upon empirical judgments, fears, and doubts. In recent years some reliable studies have been made of the Negro's mental and physical capabilities.

But much more remains to be done along these lines. The data now available from these studies tend to establish:

1. The capacity of the Negro to acquire knowledge and skill equal to that of other races
2. Improvement in the physical status of the race (mortality and morbidity rates are being lowered)
3. Economic competency, the ability to produce goods and acquire property

It is along these lines of human interests that education has played such a large part in the progress of the Negro in America.

Any scheme of educational values is subject to the limitation of variability. They are not constant but vary with social change. No estimate of educational values should live on after it has met the exigencies of the period. When



conditions change and new knowledge is developed, new values appear. Fears and doubts should not be allowed to hide them from view. The Negro by what he has accomplished shows that the old estimates of educational values as far as he is concerned have been proved to be incorrect.

Doubt of the Negro's ability, however, persisted. This accounted in part for the disparity between educational standards set for whites and those set for Negroes. There developed a general practice on the part of the South to set the educational standards for Negroes lower than those set for whites. This was true in all phases of the educational program, such as thoroughness of instruction, in training and pay of teachers, in providing buildings and equipment, and in supervision, attendance, and length of term.

In the larger city systems, standards are much higher for Negroes than in the country districts. But even in these centers the proportionate differences in the levels of provisions for the two groups are about the same as in the rural areas. In many country districts it cannot be said that the Negro is being provided educational opportunity. In appropriations and expenditures for education in the lower South the amount is always proportionately lower for Negro schools than for white schools, no matter how much money is available. In terms of averages, financial support of the dual system is maintained on about an eighty to twenty basis. That is, about twenty per cent of the available funds are expended on schools for Negroes and eighty per cent on schools for whites. Whether the expenditures are of hundreds of thousands of dollars or of millions of dollars this proportionate division generally holds. Of course, where the greater amounts are expended the twenty per cent will provide better facilities than where the amounts are smaller. In either case the proportionate division provides educational opportunities for Negro children about one fifth as good as it provides for white children. In this connection, however, it is of importance to

note that Negroes are demanding and working for standards equal to those set up for the white race. Their efforts are not wholly without success. The outlook in Negro education is not as dark as it has been in the past.

Tuskegee Institute and other educational institutions have proved that the education of the Negro pays. With the development of Tuskegee Institute, its students and graduates went out into all parts of the South practising and preaching the Tuskegee program of education. They gave the white leaders an opportunity to see at first hand the practical value of educating the Negro.

When the Tuskegee-trained person came into a community he was able to do something, usually with more skill than was common to the community. He could work with his hands and produce things people wanted. He could brighten up his residence, beautify his surroundings, and more, he could teach others to do those things.

The most influential work of Tuskegee graduates has been in the field of teaching. In many communities they were faced with the fact that the local officials were but little concerned with providing schools for Negro children. Still another, and even more difficult, problem for them was the indifference of the Negroes themselves in these communities towards the education of their children. These teachers met their task by launching a program of encouraging Negroes to support their own schools and to appreciate the value of attending school. They busied themselves with raising money to build and support schools and in convincing boards of education that Negro schools should receive more attention and support. Schools of the Tuskegee type were established in a number of communities and thrived as a result of this individual initiative. These efforts served as initial steps in convincing the South that educating the Negro gave worthy returns.

These disciples of the Tuskegee program led in teaching the practical industries and general knowledge which enabled people to have a better understanding of the problems of living. Their instruction extended beyond the

school. They were found visiting the homes in their communities and instructing in home management, child care, and matters of dress. Wherever they went they became general community workers and led their people in improving all phases of community life.

These trained Negroes helped their race to become more prosperous. Of course, this increased prosperity was reflected in the pockets of the white merchants, planters, and professional people. Economic improvement has been a most convincing evidence of the value of educating the Negro. During the course of an address, the superintendent of education in a Southern State ventured the opinion that if the State could succeed in raising the average educational level of all its Negro citizens to just the fifth grade, the business in the State would be doubled. It is probably a correct opinion, for the more people know the more they want, the more they produce and consume.

A survey of the work of those who had received their training at Tuskegee Institute, made just prior to the World War, revealed that their earning capacity had increased enormously as a result of their training. The earnings of most students on entering the school at that time ranged from \$5.00 to \$15.00 per month. With one to four years of training at Tuskegee the range of their earnings was changed from \$1.50 to \$5.00 per day. It must also be borne in mind that most students entering the school at that time were mature. In 1912 the average income of Negroes in the South was \$100.00 per year. The income of those who had been trained at Tuskegee averaged \$700.00 per year, an income seven times as great as that of the uneducated. This increased earning power was possessed by persons who, in addition, had acquired better habits of living, character, and citizenship. With more productive power the trained Negro had more to contribute in a moral, social, and economic way to the development of the South.

Numerous voluntary testimonials have come to Tuskegee Institute regarding the value of its graduates and former students in community life. They have come from promi-

ment white citizens throughout the South. They all show high regard and enthusiastic appreciation for the improved conditions being brought about through the efforts of these industrially trained Negroes in their communities.

Recently a questionnaire relative to the value of Negro education was sent out by Tuskegee Institute to representative white citizens in all types of communities in twelve Southern States. One hundred and thirty-six of these replies are summarized in the table below.

Summary of Questions and Replies Received

	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>Unan- swered</i>
1. Has education made the Negro a more useful citizen? .....	121	4	11
2. Has it made him more economical and more inclined to acquire wealth?.....	98	14	24
3. Has education improved the morals of the black race?.....	97	20	19
4. Has it made the Negro's religion less emotional and more practical?.....	101	16	19
5. Does it make him a more valuable workman, especially where skill and thought are required? .....	132	2	2
6. Do well-trained, skilled Negro workmen find any difficulty in securing work in your community? .....	4	117	15
7. Is there any opposition to the colored people's buying land in your community?	3	128	5
8. Is it, as a rule, the ignorant who commit crimes? .....	116	3	17
9. Does crime grow less as education increases among the colored people?.....	102	19	15
10. Is the moral growth of the Negro equal to his mental growth?.....	55	46	35
11. Do the relations between the races grow more friendly as the Negro is educated?	113	11	12

While an examination of the replies shows that there is not yet unanimous conviction in the South that education helps the Negro, a large majority does see its value and is willing to say so. The replies indicate that education observably improves the Negro in the fundamental and important phases of life and conduct. The replies to question 10, however, show that there is yet much doubt about the moral and intellectual capacity of the Negro.

All the available facts, however, and the unanimous opinion of people in a position to know the facts would indicate that education—elementary, advanced, literary, or trade—makes Negroes more substantial citizens. Educating the Negro pays the whole community, State, and nation by raising him to a more intelligent level of life, by increasing his skills of production through labor, by increasing wants and the earning power to satisfy them. So, from a practical point of view, educating the Negro is good business. From an economic standpoint, it is less costly to society to educate the Negro than it is to police and maintain him in prisons. A common-sense view would indicate that it is much safer to train all the people than it is to have a large part of them ignorant and unappreciative of the institutions, customs, and rules which make for security of life and property.

There still remain these questions to be answered concerning the value of educating the Negro: Does it pay to appropriate less money for the education of a Negro child than a white child? Can the South go on progressing while at the same time it keeps a large part of its citizens at a lower level of development than the other part? These questions must ultimately be answered by concerted effort to improve the amount and kind of education for Negroes if the South is to maintain a pace in the progress of this country equal to that of other sections. The full development and prosperity of the South depend as much upon the education of the Negro as upon the white race.

Tuskegee Institute is working for the time to come when there will be no question of differences in educational standards for whites and Negroes in thoroughness of instruction, in training and pay for teachers, in providing buildings and equipment, and in supervision, attendance, and length of term. The only question that should be uppermost in the minds of Southern educators is: Are all the people without regard to racial situation being trained for useful citizenship?

## IS TUSKEGEE JUST ANOTHER COLLEGE?

W. T. B. WILLIAMS

Dean of the College, Tuskegee Institute

Tuskegee Institute differs from other colleges in many interesting ways. To make this difference clear it is necessary to go briefly into the history of the Tuskegee Normal and Industrial Institute, the long but significant name under which the school is chartered. Tuskegee Institute was established as a normal school for the training of Negro teachers. Its first principal was the famous Booker T. Washington, who, through his school and his philosophy of education, greatly influenced education in America. As his school developed from the most meager beginning, he set it the task of providing practical training suited to the needs of the masses of the Negro people. When it began its work in 1881 the South was by no means providing adequate elementary education for Negro children, to say nothing of its neglecting the training of Negro teachers for the elementary schools. Tuskegee Institute had the double task of training prospective teachers and all others who presented themselves, not only in the methods of teaching, but in the fundamentals of education. As an essential, Booker T. Washington insisted upon training in work with the hands, industrial education, as he called it. This element differentiated the work of Tuskegee Institute from that of other schools. It included practical training in homemaking, in agriculture, and in the mechanical trades—work in which Negroes were commonly engaged in the South. This form of education not only served the particular purpose of preparing Negroes to make a living, but sharply distinguished Negro education from the highly literary education of the whites about them, and so impressed the white South that it won for itself a measure of support not accorded literary training for Negro youth.

From the earliest beginning the students at Tuskegee were required to do all of the housekeeping work incident to the maintenance of the school. This work, under proper

supervision, furnished the girls especially with practical training in home economics, or domestic science and art, as it was then called. The boys had the duty of running the farm and erecting buildings as they were needed. Gradually suitable buildings arose for the teaching of such practical subjects as home economics and the mechanical trades, including the following trades: carpentry, brick-masonry, sheet-metal work, plumbing and steam fitting, printing, steam engineering, automobile mechanics, applied electricity, tailoring, shoemaking, painting, and photography.

Meanwhile, farm land was acquired bit by bit until the school had two thousand acres, cultivated in the main by student labor. This practical work in agriculture served as a basis for more orderly, theoretical training in skilled agriculture that was needed in the preparation of teachers of agriculture and of farm-demonstration agents destined to play an important part in building up the devastated South.

Hand in hand with all of this practical vocational training went suitable academic work. From the nature of the case this literary training was at the beginning quite elementary, in keeping with the educational development of the masses of the Negro people. Academic training was definitely correlated with the industrial training and each was made to supplement the other. In the end, the student's time was about equally divided between the two phases of work, with the result that students of the school went out not only prepared to teach in the elementary schools or to teach their particular trades, but also to become useful effective homemakers, mechanics, and farmers.

Slowly, educational facilities for Negroes improved in the South and Tuskegee Institute gradually adjusted its work to the better conditions. Its academic training rose in the main to the secondary level with corresponding improvement and enlargement in its industrial training. Nearly every trade or vocational calling in which a considerable number of Negroes were engaged finally found

a place in the list of Tuskegee's industrial courses. This program attracted attention widely and served admirably through the years while the South was moving slowly in Negro education. However, within the last twenty years the South has made great economic progress. At the same time remarkable advances have been made in the provisions for education. Indifference on a wide scale has given way to deep concern in many localities. Neglect has been succeeded here and there by positive constructive effort in Negro education. There was also a great increase in public appropriations for schools of both whites and Negroes. As a result not only have the elementary schools in many instances been greatly improved, but public high schools for Negro youth, largely nonexistent hitherto, have sprung up both in the Southern cities and in the country places as well. The coming of high schools in appreciable numbers made it necessary for Tuskegee Institute and other private schools for Negroes in the South to readjust their work to meet the new situation. With no work above the high-school level, Tuskegee found itself competing at a disadvantage with the rapidly increasing number of Negro public high schools. Furthermore, the States raised their requirements for teachers and made college training a requisite. At this point it was necessary for Tuskegee Institute again to make a new adjustment of its work. A college had become a necessity if Tuskegee would keep its training abreast of Negro needs and meet the demands that public education in its advance and improvement was making upon it. The public, however, wanted the Tuskegee-trained type of teacher and worker. It merely demanded that they be given more training along both academic and industrial lines than was provided on a high-school level. How to create a college that would accomplish this double purpose became an interesting as well as a pressing question for Tuskegee.

All of Tuskegee's history and traditions were opposed to the conventional liberal-arts college. Furthermore, such a college would not meet the new demands. Tuskegee



decided to adhere to its industrial traditions and to create a new department on a college level that would carry forward the work for which the school had become famous.

The college as established six years ago consists of seven schools—the School of Agriculture, the School of Education, the School of Home Economics, the School of Business, the School of Music, the Trade Technical School, and the Nurse Training School. The School of Education serves as the core of the college, and, in addition to its special work, carries the academic courses common to all the schools, such as modern languages and literature, mathematics, chemistry, history, economics, sociology, etc. The technical subjects are taught in the respective schools with special buildings and equipment peculiar to their needs. The particular technical work of each school serves as a sort of major or field of concentration for its students. For example, in the agricultural school the students' time and efforts are devoted mainly to agricultural subjects, such as agronomy, horticulture, animal husbandry, veterinary science, and farm management. Not only the theoretical side but the practical as well is emphasized in each school.

In the college at Tuskegee Institute every student receives some practical training. Business students work in the several offices of the school and in the school bank, where business running into many thousands of dollars is conducted annually. The nearest approach to conventional liberal-arts training is in the School of Education, where students are prepared as teachers for the public elementary and high schools. But even these students are required to take, in a limited amount, a wide range of industrial subjects with all the practical work that goes with this vocational training, in order that they may acquire skill in the everyday work of the world and gain sympathy and respect for common labor.

The work of each of the several schools of the college leads directly to definite, specific vocations. The School of Agriculture trains teachers of agriculture, farm-demonstration agents, and farmers. The School of Business turns

out stenographers, typists, bookkeepers, and accountants. The School of Education, besides training teachers for the elementary and high schools, does the special teacher-training work for the other departments of the school. The School of Home Economics prepares special teachers in that field. The Trade Technical School trains mechanics and teachers of mechanical trades. The Nurse Training School sends out nurses who upon public examination become registered nurses. The School of Music trains pianists, orchestra and band leaders, and music teachers. Every graduate of the college is prepared for some specific job as a result of his four years of combined academic, technical, and practical training.

One other feature that differentiates the college at Tuskegee from others is that everybody in it from the principal, the distinguished and widely useful Dr. Robert R. Moton, down to the humblest student and employee is a Negro. In their education, and in their effective teaching and capable management of a great educational plant costing over two millions of dollars, these teachers serve as inspiring examples to Negro youth of what is possible for members of their own race to accomplish.

## TUSKEGEE'S VOCATIONAL PROGRAM FOR MEN

RUSSELL C. ATKINS

Director, Department of Agriculture, Tuskegee Institute

On April 1, 1868, Samuel Chapman Armstrong, who was the teacher of Booker T. Washington and Robert R. Moton, began the work of Hampton Institute with the following words: "The thing to be done was clear, to train selected Negro youths who should go out and teach and lead their people; first, by example, by getting lands and homes; to teach respect for labor; to replace stupid drudgery with skilled hands, and in this way build up an industrial system for the sake, not only of self-support and intelligent labor, but also for the sake of character."

The aim of this type of education is to develop head, heart, and hand; to educate for a life of social efficiency; to teach students to do the everyday common things of life in an uncommon way. Such a system "glorifies labor and puts brains and skill into the common occupations of life." The objectives are to train students to understand, appreciate, and properly evaluate knowledge, and to develop through the use of their hands initiative, self-reliance, and dependability.

The school community, grounds, buildings, and facilities are not merely necessities, but they are, primarily, practical laboratories of instruction. Examples of these laboratories are the boarding department, dormitories, campus, power plant, and extension activities. The boarding department as a teaching device touches every individual and division of the school. In the preparation and service of 1,000 meals three times a day, classes in menu building, quantity cooking, sanitation, and canning receive the needed practical demonstration of their theory. During the month of June, girl students canned for the boarding department 30,000 quarts of fruits and vegetables.

The school's farm, truck garden, poultry yard, dairy, and swine herds all center their production programs around the needs of this department. The hospital through its

sanitary supervision, the chemical and biological laboratories through tests and analyses, the boys' trades through installation and upkeep of the many mechanical devices, the power plant by furnishing steam, electricity, and ice—all use the boarding department as a teaching laboratory.

Tuskegee Institute is a social and economic laboratory where classroom teaching is made vital and motivated by work of farm, shop, and home. Academic instruction is made functional through activities of agricultural industries, and trades and industries for men and women. In these departments, students learn "to do by doing" an actual job in its true setting. In chemistry, the lecture and laboratory complement the other. Likewise, the trade work and the academic teaching at Tuskegee are correlated.

#### WORK IN AGRICULTURE

The agricultural department aims to train for rural leadership as practical farmers, as Smith-Hughes teachers, and as county agents. To meet these needs, the department is divided into ten divisions, each headed by a specialist. All students are required to have theory and practice in dairy husbandry, sheep and swine husbandry, animal husbandry, farm shopwork, truck gardening, field crops, care of grounds and shrubbery, poultry husbandry, and veterinary science. Individual student projects are offered in each of these branches.

Students not only learn the theory of caring for cows in the production of milk and butter, but they are also required to do actual work in the barn and creamery. All the work in the dairy division, as in the other divisions, is done by students. As soon as a student becomes familiar with the skills in one division he is transferred to another until he has had experience in all or most of the divisions. He is then permitted to specialize in one particular field. The present milking herd numbers thirty cows, and ninety per cent of these animals were bred and raised at the school. The average yearly production per cow today is 1,015 gallons of milk and 380 pounds of butter.

In the poultry division the average production per hen a year is 145 eggs. In 1928 the highest individual record per year was 168 eggs as compared with the 254 egg record in 1932. During the present school year, there have been produced, butchered, and sold from the swine herd 24,903 pounds of dressed pork. In addition to tractors, thirty-three horses and mules are required to do the work of the school. Approximately eighty per cent of these animals were bred here and raised by our students. Examples of the care and skill shown in the veterinary department are demonstrated by the fact that the dairy herd is free from tuberculosis and contagious abortion. The swine herd has been without a single case of cholera for three years, though from time to time the disease was prevalent in the school's vicinity. In the poultry flock such conditions as coccidiosis, fowl-pox, and pullorum diseases are kept under control.

The truck garden produced and sold to the boarding department all of the fresh vegetables and most of the fruit used in the students' dining hall. This included the sale of seventeen different varieties of vegetables. One of the chief crops grown on the school's farm is certified sweet potatoes. Last year, the students planted, harvested, and stored for use in the boarding department 4,000 bushels of sweet potatoes. Over a period of ten years, the storage loss has been less than five per cent per year. In the farm-shop division, the boys repair all types of farm machinery and construct small farm buildings, such as hog and poultry houses.

The grounds, through their beauty, inspire teachers, students, and visitors. The flora of the campus is used to teach nature study, botany, growing of home flowers, beautification of home lawns, and formal teaching of landscape gardening. The well-kept lawns of Tuskegee graduates show how daily contact with flower beds, green lawns, and shrubbery becomes a part of the student's life.

Students in agricultural economics this year participated in making a survey of 198 farms in Macon County and

478 inventories in twenty-two counties of the State. The surveys indicate that the earning power of these farmers was determined by soil type, crop yields, amount and kinds of fertilizer used, use of improved practices, diversity of farm business, and education—education being the chief single factor.

In addition to doing the work of the divisional laboratories, each student is required to carry a supervised animal or crop project or its equivalent. The boys have made an excellent business of supplying the local markets with broilers and fryers. A thorough study of each job is made, from the organization of the project to its completion. All work is thoroughly planned, based upon theory and practice obtained in the divisional laboratories. Accurate records of time, expenditures, and returns are kept. During the time the project is in progress, regular conferences are held with the supervisor and veterinarian. When the project is completed, a written report and financial summary is submitted. Students learn that scientific facts and principles used intelligently bring financial returns. Such work develops skill and motivates, stimulates, and vitalizes the theory taught in classrooms and laboratories.

#### WORK IN THE TRADES

The trades and industries for men are housed in five large buildings known as the William G. Wilcox Trade School. The divisions of the trade school are: auto mechanics, auto trimming and furniture upholstery, applied electricity, architectural and mechanical drawing, brick-masonry, carpentry, machine-shop practice, painting, photography, printing, plumbing and steam fitting, sheet-metal work, shoe repairing, steam engineering, and tailoring.

The objective in each of these trades is to train journeymen, master workmen, foremen, contractors, owners of business plants, and teachers of trades. The trade courses require from three to four years for completion. Each year's work is divided into projects supplemented by trade drawing, trade science, and auxiliary information. The

student's advance in his trade is determined by the skill and efficiency shown in the mastery of each project. An essential part of the courses is the theory class which meets for one hour each day. The entire physical plant of the school serves as teaching material. The generating of electricity by dynamo at the power plant, plumbing, and brick-masonry, like other trade divisions, find their laboratories in the construction and upkeep of the plant and equipment. The Institute from its beginning has used construction operations as laboratories for teaching trades.

A practical application of trade theory and academic work in its natural setting was the building of the elementary school, known as the William V. Chambliss Children's House. Plans were made in the drawing room. Excavating, bricklaying, carpentry, painting, plumbing, steam fitting, and electrical wiring were all done by students. From such jobs as these, the student not only learns the skills of his trade, but gains a clear understanding of mathematics, physics, and chemistry. On large jobs, contracts and estimates of the cost are made before the work is begun. All materials used are requisitioned on order and a complete cost account of labor and materials is kept by students as part of their training.

Drawing, which is closely related to the respective trades, is required of all mechanical students. Freehand drawing is given to train the eye to recognize correct proportions and to make the hand skillful in rapid sketching. Boys in the building trades take mechanical drawing, elementary architectural drafting, and blue-print reading. Students work on problems and proceed by methods similar to those they would experience in the building trades. Individual instruction is given and capable apprentices progress as rapidly as their ability permits.

The course in carpentry includes general carpentry, cabinet making, work in wood turning, and millwrighting. Before finishing this course, students are required to demonstrate their work before fellow students. Through this

division, the school is enabled to assist in the construction of its buildings and make all necessary repairs.

Brickmasonry is one of the important trades taught, primarily because of its contribution to the buildings of the physical plant of the school. Thirty of the brick buildings at Tuskegee were constructed entirely by student labor and eight others partially by student labor. Second, laying of brick, cement, and tile work, lathing, and plastering offer large opportunities for employment.

Tinsmithing was one of the early trades taught. For a long while tinware, such as basins, dustpans, and ash cans, was made in this department. When the demand for these articles decreased, the division entered into other phases of work and is now known as the sheet-metal division. The work is largely confined to metal and slate roofing, furnace mechanics, cornice and blowpipe ventilation.

At present all of the plumbing, heating, sewer construction, steam fitting, gas conduit, and water-system installations are carried on and maintained by the plumbing classes. Here again, classes in productive work are given training in real-life situations by using the entire school's plumbing installation as a laboratory.

The uses of electricity on the school grounds afford the electrical division large opportunities for actual work. Some of the equipment includes two 160 kilowatt, 2,300 volt, three-phase generators with marble switchboard containing modern measuring and control instruments, an automatic telephone system of 200-line capacity, sound-picture equipment, electrically operated church chimes, distributing lines and transformers. The Institute receives a daily average output of 2,660 kilowatt hours of electrical energy which goes to supply 12,000 incandescent lamps and 140 motors which keep the wheels of industrial Tuskegee in motion.

The printing division was opened to publish matter of interest about Tuskegee Institute and its work. It now prints the stationery and office forms used by the various departments, the *Tuskegee Messenger*, the Negro Year



Book, the *Student Digest*, the annual catalogue, reports of the principal and treasurer, and a small amount of outside job work.

The shoe-repair division conducts a practice shop in connection with its regular routine work. Students are given an opportunity to run a business under supervision. The tools and equipment are furnished by the school. An inventory is taken when the student in charge enters and leaves the shop. Costs of operation and actual work are deducted from money received to determine profit or loss of the business.

The course in photography not only gives training in the use of the camera, but embraces all branches of the art. Courses are offered to persons who are interested in photography for personal enjoyment as well as to those who learn it as a trade.

Tailoring is taught by projects. Students are allowed to advance as rapidly as they are able to master the assigned project. Some of the projects included are drafting, designing, cutting, and the making of trousers, vests, coats, uniforms, and ladies' suits.

With the introduction of motor transportation, auto mechanics has become the most important trade taught where metal is used. Around this trade, old trades have been replaced and new trades have been offered. Automobile trimming and furniture upholstery have practically replaced harness making. Automobile and furniture painting has become an important part of the painting trade. Automobiles offer enlarged opportunities for machine-shop practices. Oxyacetylene welding does more effectively many jobs formerly done in blacksmithing and other trades. A student may complete any one of this group of trades and in addition get a working knowledge of all or any other of the allied trades.

The power plant is the center of laboratory material for steam engineering. Here is found the central heating plant. Ten tons of ice are produced every twenty-four hours. There is a daily steam output of 800,000 to 1,300,000



pounds, and 300,000 to 500,000 gallons of water are pumped each day from deep wells

An example of the interrelation between trade participation and academic achievements is presented in the chart on page 182 showing how chemistry in the Tuskegee Institute community is used as the basis of teaching. This program shows how a classroom subject is made to function in the several trades. In like manner, trade knowledge serves as material for written and oral language work, problems in mathematics, or experiments in the science laboratories.

Such a procedure permits the student to realize that the solution of his trade problems may be found in his classroom work. With the realization of his need, he takes to his academic class an interest and zeal not likely to be found when his problem is only one from a textbook.

Vocational training at Tuskegee for men in agriculture and trade vitalizes and motivates the work of the classroom. The skills learned in the trade laboratories by participation in productive work become the basis of teaching scientific and academic knowledge. In the words of the founder, "There is something, I think, in the handling of a tool that has the same relation to close, accurate thinking that writing with a pen has in the preparation of a manuscript. Nearly all persons who write much will agree, I think, that one can produce much more satisfactorily by using the pen than by dictation."

## THE TUSKEGEE PROGRAM FOR THE TRAIN- ING OF WOMEN

JENNIE B. MOTON

Director, Women's Industries, Tuskegee Institute

The women who came to Tuskegee when the school was first established were born in slavery. The school was founded just sixteen years after the roar of the last cannon fired in the Civil War had faded into the din of the work of reconstruction. The average age of these women was about thirty years; most of them were teachers in their communities. The social and moral background of those first women students was rooted in slavery. What was slavery's effect upon it?

One of the most pernicious effects of American slavery was its destruction of the moral basis of the family life of the slaves. In Africa the family life was merged into the life of the tribe. The tribal laws and customs regulated family relationships, conserved and perpetuated those values necessary for the protection and the well-being of the tribe, and furnished a moral basis for the family life.

In Africa there was a recognized head of the family; there was a settled division of labor with a rigidly enforced responsibility for its performance. There were the tribal periods of training and the initiations into the knowledge of the functions that men and women, as husbands and wives, were to perform. Besides these things there were the family and tribal traditions, lore, and property that were passed on from generation to generation.

Slavery had taken from its victims all of these things and had offered nothing in their places. Slavery had separated the Negro from the tribal restraints and sanctions of his conduct, had destroyed the old moral basis of his family life and made no effort to create a new one. There could be no family unity because members of the family were separated and sold at will. There was not developed in the Negro man that sense of obligation to and responsibility for the welfare of his family. The Negro slave

woman was not taught the duties and functions of a wife and mother. And often the last shred of morality and self-respect was torn from her as she was made to yield herself in turn to her master, her master's sons, the overseer, and to any slave selected for his good breeding qualities. Many of the women were field hands who had never been allowed to learn even the most simple domestic skills, and the homes in which they and their children slept and ate defy description.

It was from this general environment and family background that the first women came to Tuskegee. Although slave marriages had been legalized after the war, the wholesale legalization of marriages by law could not transform the ex-slave immediately into a considerate and responsible husband and father, nor could it acquaint the wife and mother with the fundamental principles of homemaking.

The young Negro women coming to Tuskegee offered a real challenge to the practical adaptation of the program of the school to the immediate needs of the people whom it sought to serve. They not only offered a challenge, but an opportunity for the school to lay, from the beginning, a foundation for an educational program that related itself to the real life situations of its women students.

Tuskegee met the challenge and rose to the opportunity. The challenge was met by devising a curriculum that in no way furnished a feeble assortment of courses that might be selected for credit hours. In fact, progress in the school, and even graduation, was not then based upon credit hours but upon actual accomplishment. It was not the fact that a woman had spent so many hours in dressmaking that counted; it was the more important things: Could she make a dress? Could she patch? Could she darn?

What was true of dressmaking was true of laundering, of cooking, of soap making, of mattress making, and in a modified way of dairying and poultry raising, for these two latter things were considered as the light work on the farm that was generally done by the women. These women had come with the definite purpose of learning

these things so that they might teach them in their communities when they returned. They were taught not only to know about them but to actually do them. They learned by doing, for all of these tasks had to be performed for the school in the daily rounds of its life.

But the training of these early women students of Tuskegee did not stop here. Points, as they were called, were given for personal cleanliness, for neatness, for well-kept rooms, for habits of work and study, for courtesy, and cheerfulness. The women were taught to grow flowers as well as vegetables, and were convinced that success or failure with flowers did not depend upon a good or bad disposition or temper, as was then commonly believed, but upon whether the grower had "more sense than the flowers."

It must not be overlooked, even in this early period, that there was also a reasonable and well-balanced emphasis put upon the purely literary or academic courses. Training the head, the heart, and the hands was not simply a catch phrase with the founder of Tuskegee. He firmly believed that his larger purpose of affecting the lives of many more Negroes than those who were able to come to Tuskegee could never be realized unless there went out from Tuskegee teachers whose minds had been developed by academic training to the point where they had not only mastered the skills taught them, but had been awakened to the need of disseminating this information and had mastered the methods of teaching.

So there was from the beginning that coordination of the academic and the practical which has always been one of the distinguishing features of Tuskegee's program. With this coordination there also went practical advice on thrift and economy, on the ownership of land and chattels. This advice was certainly not misplaced when it was given to the women, for it is well known that the Negro woman has been the motivating influence behind the purchasing of many homes and farms, and she has effected the economies by which they were paid for.

There was fostered and developed a healthful social

relationship between the men and women students. They were encouraged to develop the ordinary social amenities and graces. Social affairs under careful supervision brightened the lives of the students and furnished wholesome recreation. Tuskegee has always had a liberal social and recreational program for the students.

The spiritual and emotional life of the girls has not been neglected. There have always been appropriate religious services held on Sunday, and each day during the week, except Saturday, there is a fifteen-minute evening prayer service. The Sunday evening chapel service has always been the occasion for the principal to address the students. Music has been encouraged in every possible way. The Negro spirituals sung by the girls and boys have been a source of pleasure and profound inspiration to hundreds of visitors as well as to the students and teachers. The range of musical appreciation has not been limited to spirituals, however, for some of the most distinguished artists and symphony concerts have been presented to the students. Booker T. Washington encouraged the appreciation of art and solicited reproductions of great paintings from friends of the school. The students have been encouraged to carry the message of art and beauty back to their homes.

Thus it was that Tuskegee met the challenge and rose to the opportunity of providing an educational program adapted to the needs of a woman newly emancipated from slavery. With the specific training received here, the girls could return and make better homes for their parents and for themselves, and encourage others to do likewise; for it was in home building that these early seeds were intended to bear their greatest fruit. The women could also teach what they had learned here, and the more courageous ones could and did start schools modeled on the plan of Tuskegee. Only the limits of this article prevent the presentation of many concrete cases of successful accomplishments made by the women graduates of Tuskegee.

This basic program as outlined here still serves as the foundation work in the training of women at Tuskegee.

Although it was originally designed to meet the needs of girls coming mainly from and expecting to return to rural or small-town communities, the fundamental principles of the program were so broad that only slight alterations and shiftings of emphasis have had to be made.

Just as Tuskegee successfully helped to meet the situation which faced the Negro woman recently emerged from slavery and taught her how to obtain a fuller, a more complete, and a more useful life, so the institution is now shifting its program of training for girls to meet the current needs caused not only by the economic situation but also by the fact that the Negro woman herself has advanced far beyond that early period of development. The Negro woman today faces the same problems that confront women the world over. The occupational opportunity for Negro girls has widened just as it has for women generally, although not in the same nor fair proportion.

Tuskegee's program now includes vocational and educational guidance and counseling in order that the woman student may select for herself that vocation for which she is mentally and emotionally best fitted, and in which her talent can find its widest expression. In order to make an intelligent choice, she must learn the nature of different kinds of occupations and the opportunities they offer. Therefore, we furnish occupational information and opportunities for girls to do some exploratory work; that is, to try themselves out in the various vocations for which we train.

This fact must be kept in mind about Tuskegee: Tuskegee has several groups of students for whom it must provide adequate types of training. There are those who begin high school and do not finish. There are those who finish high school and go no further. There are those who begin college and do not finish, and those who are graduated from college. Obviously, the number of our college graduates is small in proportion to the number that spends a more limited time in the school. There is the feeling that a curriculum which provides adequately for only that relatively small number which is graduated from either college



or high school each year is not a complete curriculum. Tuskegee does more than train teachers and health and community workers. It furnishes instruction for girls who cut their school careers short and who become wage earners. *There is a definite problem here that is not ignored.*

As the number of Negro business institutions increases, the opportunities for Negro business girls increases. Tuskegee prepares girls for these opportunities. As the level of the requirements for effective training is raised, Tuskegee endeavors to secure modern equipment, to have well-trained teachers, and to enrich the curriculum offerings.

Tuskegee has kept for the girls a carefully balanced program of physical and health exercises. It continues to provide a variety of direct experiences of art, literature, music, intellectual activity, and moral and social relationships from which the students will develop a realization of their values. This is felt to be especially worth while in view of the increase in leisure brought about by labor-saving devices and shorter hours. Emphasis is put, too, upon the social value of the education that is being acquired. Educating the individual is a poor investment if he uses his education solely for personal utilitarian ends. Tuskegee, therefore, strives to train girls so that they will not withdraw from community affairs into a chambered nautilus of inactivity and neglect the social values of education.

The goal of the Tuskegee program for women is to prepare them to secure for themselves the satisfaction that results from doing things, in carrying forward projects originated and designed by themselves to a successful conclusion. This may be done in business, in the professions, trades, and art, but Tuskegee also believes that one of the greatest fields for this activity is in the home, where women develop the domestic virtues of family pride, family loyalty, thrift, industry, and service.

## CARRYING EDUCATION TO THE PEOPLE

T. M. CAMPBELL

Field Agent, United States Department of Agriculture

Winding its way over roads of clay, loose sand, and mud, far from the main arteries of travel, moves a large, specially built automobile truck that is familiar enough to those who live along the main highways, but strange to the man behind the plow and the woman and children in backwoods sections who pause on their hoes to watch it disappear over a hill or around a bend. Down the narrow lanes and over almost impassable roads it moves slowly until it approaches an isolated, dilapidated, weather-beaten farmhouse, near which is gathered a crowd of Negro men, women, and children from the surrounding rural community. The drollery of the countryside is hushed and an air of seriousness is shown as the truck turns into the path-way and comes to a stop near the group. Curiosity, which had been aroused when the preacher at church announced a week or so in advance that a "school on wheels" was coming into the community from Tuskegee Institute to teach the people better methods of farming, homemaking, and health improvement, was greatly heightened by the actual presence of the vehicle. Some are wide-eyed with amazement, while others, younger and more inquisitive, gather about it, first to meet the passengers who prove to be the demonstrators, and then to "make out" the words, "Booker T. Washington Agricultural School on Wheels" printed in letters of gold on its green-painted sides.

One ambitious farmer slowly spells letter for letter "S-C-H-O-O-L O-N W-H-E-E-L-S," while an older member drops his hands, shakes his head in a gesture of bewilderment, and exclaims, "Wal, shut mah mouf! Ain't no buddy never seed a school movin' 'round." But all had heard of Booker T. Washington, and the "agricultural school on wheels" connected with his name must be something worth while. This is a frequent occurrence in some

sections of the rural South except that with the passing of time many of the rural people have become better acquainted with the work of the "moving school" and enjoy greatly improved living conditions as a result of it.

Reasons for a plan of itinerant education for the adult farmers have existed since the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation, when the rural Negro, freed from slavery where his master was obliged to care for him, was thrown upon his own resources for sustenance, shelter, and health. The movable-school idea, as an attempted solution to this rural problem, was begun by Booker T. Washington (in Macon County where Tuskegee Institute is located) in an effort to aid his people.

Mr. Washington had a serious and deep concern for all rural people. He possessed an unbounded faith in the lateral possibilities of Tuskegee Institute; therefore, in addition to his visits to the North to secure funds for erecting buildings and running the Institute, his trail (in a road cart drawn by an old gray mare) led through the country to many rural homes and churches near Tuskegee Institute. He met the people on their own ground, talked their language, and laid his campaign for teaching parents in the home while the Institute taught the children. His was a first aid in rural education, helping to make self-supporting landowners out of more or less backward Negro tenants.

Mr. Washington saw the need of getting hold in some way of these "next-door neighbors." He began by holding small group meetings of farmers and other workers at Tuskegee once a month to talk over their problems. In anticipation of their coming, he had arranged for display simple and yet very attractive exhibits of products grown on the Institute's farm, which was of the same grade of land as that which the farmers occupied. This was done for the purpose of creating a desire among these untrained people to learn how to raise more produce on smaller acreage at less expense, to make their homes more sanitary and attractive, and to educate their children. And so, in February 1891, the first Farmers' Conference was held at

Tuskegee Institute. That first meeting, to Mr. Washington's surprise, brought five hundred farm people to Tuskegee. An account of this gathering stated that many, in order to be on time for the opening, left home as early as midnight of the day prior to the meeting. They came afoot and in various types of vehicles, including buggies, wagons, and ox carts. In emphasizing the object of these conferences, Mr. Washington urged that the problems be confined chiefly to conditions within their reach.

As Tuskegee's influence spread further into the rural districts, Mr. Washington realized the need of a more definite means of reaching the masses, for there was still a large majority who would not come to the Farmers' Conference because of self-consciousness and imaginary discomforts in being obliged to mingle with educated people. It was at this point that he conceived the idea of itinerant demonstrators, or the movable school of agriculture, and appointed a committee headed by Professor George W. Carver to draw up definite plans for a demonstration wagon, to include the kind of equipment it should carry to the very doors of Negro farmers. With these plans, Mr. Washington was able to interest a friend, Morris K. Jesup of New York, in the project and to secure an initial donation with which to purchase and equip a vehicle to carry exhibits and demonstration material to the homes of Negroes. With this money, the "Jesup Agricultural Wagon," drawn by a pair of mules—the first movable school—was fitted up and set in operation. After three months of operation of the wagon, the success of this type of work was assured and the idea was offered by Mr. Washington to the Federal Government. It was accepted. Thus the wagon was in charge of the first Negro demonstration agent in the employment of the United States Department of Agriculture and was driven by him on a regular schedule to the surrounding communities where Negroes were given better methods of living and farming.

The equipment of the Jesup Wagon varied according to the season of the year. Before garden-planting time

the wagon was set up with a portable garden with growing vegetables thereon and driven to meeting places where actual demonstrations were given on how to prepare land, how to fertilize it, and how to plant the garden. During the plowing season, field demonstrations were held at strategic points in the use of more horsepower and better machinery. With better plows it was very convenient to take the team from the wagon, hitch it to the plow, and give a demonstration in the preparation of the soil and in the cultivation of the crops during the growing season.

As time passed, calls came up from adjacent sections for the "school on wheels." The question of transportation became an important problem. A motorized vehicle was added and with it went the addition of a woman to teach better home methods and a nurse to teach better health measures. Instead of operating in the county in which Tuskegee Institute is located, the work expanded to other counties throughout Alabama and over the South.

In conducting these schools there is no sounding of trumpets and very little lecturing or other formal proceedings. The time is given to actual demonstrations. The farmers are not only told how to do the work, but actually do things themselves under supervision.

The man agent takes the boys and men, organizes them into groups, and gives them practical instruction in sharpening saws, hanging gates, repairing porches, screening windows and doors, making doorsteps, mixing whitewash paint, painting the house and outbuildings, building sanitary toilets and poultry houses. When in season, instruction is given in bedding, curing and storing sweet potatoes, pruning the orchard, terracing land, and inoculating hogs against cholera. An effort is made to give various groups, as nearly as possible, instruction in any other subject in which they are interested.

Simultaneously, the women and girls are organized into groups. They wash the cast-away rags, and make rugs and mats from them; they learn to make useful articles from shucks and pine needles; they are given instruction in

cooking, remodeling old garments, and the making of new ones. Joint instruction is given all in poultry raising, gardening, and home dairying. The rural nurse makes a survey of the community by looking into the various homes and gives first-hand information on home sanitation. She also gives special attention to child welfare, screening the homes, caring for the patient in the home, the eradication of vermin, and directing severe cases of illness to the community physician. At the close of the day, these wondering, curious farmers have been convinced that the demonstrations brought them through the "school" are not only interesting, but are planned to aid them in bettering their everyday life. When the week's session of the school closes, they return to their homes and farms, not only having "gone to school" but having learned something. A solution to their rural problem has been offered, their imagination awakened, and a new possibility revealed.

One of the happiest virtues in the conduct of this work has been the maintenance of a staff with personality and ability to impress the lessons simply, and without show, a necessarily strong quality for disseminating this type of information to backward rural folk. The movable-school staff fits, to a very gratifying degree, the qualification laid down by the late Honorable Henry Wallace, pioneer of agriculture in Iowa and father of a former Secretary of the United States Department of Agriculture, and grandfather of the present Secretary of Agriculture, "A man is not fit to work with the country people unless he has smelled the soil and can converse with them in their own 'lingo.'"

The teachings carried out by these workers are practical and constructive and are demonstrated with such natural simplicity as to make it easy for the farm people to understand and carry the ideas to completion. It is generally believed that there is possibly no phase of teaching yet instituted for uneducated people that gives these lessons in such an effective manner. It has a tendency to arouse in tenant farmers a desire to own property, encourage owners to improve that which they have, and to inspire

country women to adopt practical methods in thrift and industrious habits in homemaking.

Aside from that, this teaching technique has offered a wonderful opportunity for students in agriculture, home economics, and nurse training at Tuskegee Institute to get practical experience in working with rural people through demonstration tours with the movable school.

The South, fortunately, is gradually adopting the movable-school procedure in connection with its regular program of extension service. In sections where these schools have been operating, the changed appearance of conditions in homes and farms is easily seen.

The rapidity with which new methods are adopted is illustrated in the case of Grant Moss, Mt. Zion Community, Macon County, Alabama. The Mosses began as renters, practising the teaching brought them each year by the movable school, and after five years they were able to make a down payment on ninety acres of land. In addition to growing corn and cotton, they produced and marketed fruits, vegetables, milk, and poultry in an abundance, so that the regular crop could be financed. In this manner they were able to meet the last payment of \$300 on the land when it came due. With the farm paid for, Mrs. Moss turned her attention towards a better home. She persuaded her husband to sell thirty acres of their land to be used for that purpose. With the expenditure of \$1,000 they were able to move from a three-room shack into a new six-room bungalow, located, built, and furnished according to plans supplied by extension agents.

Through the years, as the school on wheels has moved along, it has touched practically every phase of rural life. Its influence has gone beyond the farm and home. Rural ministers have been impressed with its demonstrations and have shown more than the usual willingness to coöperate in community betterment. In most rural communities the minister holds complete sway, and the success of any worthy project depends largely on his attitude. So when these spiritual leaders foster better living conditions on the farm

and in the home, a forward step has been made. In recent years, the movable-school personnel has been asked to occupy places on programs of rural ministers' institutes, where they have carried out their usual demonstrations in farm, home, and health practices. Through these means the dissemination of extension information to large numbers of rural people through their churches has been made possible. It is no longer an experiment, but a real factor in the education of the Negro farmer.

And so this plan of "carrying education to the people"—an idea born in the mind of Booker T. Washington more than twenty-five years ago—has spread to many places. In fact, the present system of county-agency work and home-demonstration work among Negroes in America today is a direct outgrowth of the "school on wheels."

This idea of carrying education to the very doors of the people seems to have so completely met the needs of farm folks that visitors from India, Japan, China, from various sections of Africa, from the British Isles, Russia, Poland, Belgium, and numerous other countries of continental Europe have journeyed to Tuskegee to make a first-hand study of it. Many have taken the idea back to their countries and are putting it into practice. In Kavaje, Albania, they are trying something of the sort. They call it a "donkey back school," since the majority of the villages are inaccessible to anything on wheels. Similar work has begun in Madras, India. In addition, the Tuskegee movable-school plans and set-up have gone to Sangli, India. The Ting Ysien Experiment in Hopei, China, reports that its work has reached remarkable development in teaching the farmers there.

The truly fine work of the school cannot be fully comprehended through any statistical array of facts. The deeper significance of it all is seen in the enrichment of the lives of the people.



## TUSKEGEE INSTITUTE MORE THAN AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION

MONROE N. WORK

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Tuskegee Institute was built around a problem. This problem was "how to improve the conditions of the Negro." The founder of the institution recognized that there were two aspects to the improvement of the conditions of the Negro. One aspect had to do with more or less formal education in the school; the other dealt with efforts outside of the school to improve the conditions of the Negro.

When Booker T. Washington came to Alabama to establish Tuskegee Institute, he had an opportunity to make this school similar to other schools of that period. Instead of taking, however, a ready-made curriculum and putting it into the school, he first made a study of the conditions of the people and then endeavored to adapt the courses in the school to meet the needs of these conditions. In other words, he made a curriculum to fit the needs of the people. The nature of this curriculum has been fittingly described in other articles in the present issue of *THE JOURNAL*.

The purpose of this article is to describe some of the means and methods used outside the Institute for improving the conditions of the Negro. It was these means and methods that made Tuskegee more than an educational institution. What were some of the more important needs of the Negro as Mr. Washington visualized them? To him they appeared to be economic, educational, moral, religious, social, and political. Running through all of these was the ever-present and overshadowing problem of race relations resulting from two groups of people—white and Negro, living side by side. How could the needs of the Negro be met and at the same time a better understanding between the races developed? This was a problem for a statesman rather than an educator.

It has been elsewhere described that Booker T. Washington spent the first month of the establishing of Tuskegee Institute traveling over the countryside getting an insight into the actual life of the people. He ate and slept in their little cabins. He saw their farms, their schools, and their churches. He came to understand their needs. It may be said that coincident with the beginning of formal classroom work at Tuskegee, there were initiated efforts outside the school for improving the economic, social, and moral conditions of the people.

The development of Tuskegee Institute into more than a formal educational institution falls under three main heads:

1. Work for improving the conditions of the Negro in the South
2. Work for improving the welfare of Negroes generally throughout the country
3. The promotion of better race relationships

The first of the formal agencies for improving conditions in the South was the establishment in 1891 of the Annual Tuskegee Negro Conference. This was a two-day affair. On the first day, farmers from all over the South met and discussed such problems as landowning, better schools, better homes, better churches, and better health. On the second day of the Conference, leaders among the people, particularly preachers and teachers, met and discussed ways and means of initiating efforts for handling the problems raised on the first day. The farmers were encouraged to go back to their respective communities and establish conferences in which the problems of their communities could be discussed. This was done. The result was that conferences, State and local, patterned after the one at Tuskegee, were established throughout the South.

The declarations of the 1932 Annual Tuskegee Negro Conference are an example of how this agency continues to endeavor to meet the needs of the farming people. These declarations offered the following suggestions for improving the economic and social conditions of Negro farmers:

## *Tuskegee More Than an Educational Institution* 199

1. Reduction of tax burdens on the farmers' land
2. Lower charges for financing Negro farmers
3. Negro extension agents and Smith-Hughes workers in every county having a large Negro rural population
4. Access by Negro farmers to Federal aid for agriculture without discrimination or exploitation
5. An equitable distribution of school funds for the education of Negro children
6. Impressing upon landlords, merchants, and bankers that the present tenant system has outlived its usefulness

Tuskegee Institute gave prompt attention to improve the moral and religious conditions of the people. To assist in this effort an intelligent minister of the gospel was secured. Chief among his duties was the organizing of institutes for ministers. Meetings for the rural preachers were held at Tuskegee four times a year. This effort to help raise the moral and religious standards of the rural preachers resulted in establishing at the Institute in 1892 the Phelps Hall Bible Training School. The aim of this school was to give a comprehensive knowledge of the Bible and such other training as would fit those attending to work effectively under the actual conditions existing in the rural districts. A night Bible class was organized to give ministers who were not able to attend the day classes opportunity to learn something about the Bible and its history. The lack of education among these ministers made it necessary not to set up any special literary requirements. These efforts to improve the conditions of the rural ministers resulted in a large number of them getting a better understanding of the Bible and how to conduct religious services with dignity and decorum.

One of Tuskegee's most extended and continued efforts for bettering the conditions of the Negro farmer has been to assist in improving the rural schools of the South. Negro communities were helped to build schoolhouses, to lengthen school terms, and to secure competent teachers. Booker T. Washington was mainly instrumental in securing for rural-school improvement the Anna T. Jeanes Fund of a million dollars which was to assist in improving elementary

schools in the South. He also secured from Mr. Julius Rosenwald money to assist in erecting schoolhouses for Negroes in the rural districts.

An important feature of the work for school improvement was the coöperation of whites and Negroes. This was strikingly illustrated by what was accomplished through the Jeanes Fund and the Rosenwald School House Building Campaign. In 1913, six years after the establishment of the Anna T. Jeanes Fund, this Foundation was carrying on work in 121 counties in the South. These counties contributed \$3,402 in that year towards the salaries of Jeanes supervising teachers. In 1932, the work of the Jeanes Foundation was carried on in over 300 counties which were contributing some \$200,000 from public funds towards the salaries of the Jeanes supervising teachers.

A condition of the Rosenwald School House Building project established in 1912 was that the people in the community where a schoolhouse was to be erected were to raise from the public funds, or raise among themselves, an amount equivalent to or larger than that given by Mr. Rosenwald. In 1932, twenty years after the Rosenwald School House Building Campaign was begun, over 5,000 Rosenwald school buildings had been erected at a total cost of \$28,408,520. Of this amount, \$4,725,871 was contributed by Negroes, \$1,211,975 by whites, \$18,105,805 by public-school authorities, and \$4,364,869 by the Rosenwald Fund.

The first of the formal agencies organized to assist in improving the welfare of the Negroes generally throughout the country was the National Business League which held its first meeting in Boston in 1900. Mr. Washington stated that he had two objects in view in organizing the Business League. The first was to bring together the large number of Negro men and women engaged in business throughout the country so that they might become acquainted with each other, thereby gaining information and inspiration. The second object was to form plans for an annual meeting of the League and the organization of

local business leagues that should extend throughout the country, thereby helping to improve the Negro as a business factor.

The National Negro Business League has proved to be an important factor in stimulating Negro business in all sections of the country. From this parent organization has come the National Negro Bankers' Association, the National Negro Insurance Association, the National Negro Bar Association, and the National Funeral Directors' Association.

Booker T. Washington saw that in order for the Negro to make permanent progress it was necessary for him to improve his hygienic conditions. Tuskegee Institute almost from its founding became a health center. A hospital and a nurse training school were early made a part of the institution. Later a \$50,000 hospital was erected. This became a health center for the entire lower South, particularly through the establishment in 1918 of the John A. Andrew Clinical Society. Its purpose was "the advancement of Negro physicians and surgeons in the science and art of medicine and surgery, and for the study and treatment of morbid conditions affecting thousands of needy sufferers in this section of the South." This organization immediately became national in scope. Its annual sessions are attended by Negro physicians from all parts of the country. The demonstrators have included representatives from the leading hospitals and medical schools of the country, such as the Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston; Memorial Hospital, University of Rochester; American College of Surgeons, New York City; Broad Street Hospital, New York City; the National Tuberculosis Association, New York City; New York Medical College; Roosevelt and Sloane Hospitals, New York City; Emory University Medical School, Atlanta; University of Alabama Medical School; Central State Hospital, Indianapolis; Northwestern University Medical School, Chicago.

On several occasions the workers' section of the Annual Tuskegee Negro Conference gave special attention to the

problem of health. In the 1914 meeting of the Conference, a series of charts were displayed in which it was shown that 456,000 Negroes in the South were seriously ill all the time. This meant a loss of 18 days a year for each Negro inhabitant; the annual cost of sickness of these 450,000 Negroes was over \$75,000,000; half of this sickness it was stated was preventable. It was also stated that the annual economic loss to the South because of sickness and death among Negroes was over \$300,000,000. This graphic representation of health conditions was in a language that both whites and Negroes understood.

In the autumn of 1914, Booker T. Washington issued a call for a National Negro Health Week. In this call he said, "We are asking the colored people of the nation to unite in observing a National Health Week, in the belief that in carrying out this suggestion they will be doing the best possible service to themselves and to their race." He further stated that he thought the race would welcome this opportunity to unite all its efforts in one great national health movement. "Without health," he said, "and until we reduce the high death rate, it will be impossible for us to have permanent success in business, in property getting, in acquiring education, or in showing other evidences of progress. Without health and long life all else fails."

National Negro Health Week became an immediate success and afforded a further means of coöperation between the races. In the first observance of Health Week, not only did all sorts of Negro organizations join in the efforts, but also many agencies and organizations among whites, such as county and State health officers, chambers of commerce, and white women's clubs. It was recognized by all that knew disease and drew no color line.

National Negro Health Week proved an effective agency for health education among Negroes on a nation-wide basis. It eventually secured the coöperation of practically all State and national agencies working for health improvement. The United States Public Health Service, the most important of the coöperating agencies, has recently taken over

National Negro Health Week, placed it on a year-round basis, and has made it a unit of the Public Health Service under the title, "National Negro Health Movement."

Other national organizations which Tuskegee Institute helped to establish and promote were the National Association of Colored Women, the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, the National Medical Association, the National Association of Colored Graduate Nurses, and the National Urban League.

Booker T. Washington in his now famous Atlanta Exposition Address laid down a platform for whites and Negroes to work together on a good-will basis. In this address he urged the Negroes to have more faith in the white people among whom they were living; to the white people the address was a plea to have more faith in the Negro. The school and its founder advocated improvement of all the people of the South. Working on this theory Tuskegee Institute assisted in promoting the organization of the Southern Board of Education and other agencies organized for the improvement of all the people of the South. The theory back of these movements was that the South could not rise and at the same time keep the Negro down. In the twenty years from the period of the delivery of the Atlanta Exposition Address in 1895 to his death in 1915, many of the efforts of Booker T. Washington and Tuskegee Institute were for the bettering of race relations.

An important feature of the efforts for improving race relations was the good-will tours made by Mr. Washington in the States of the South from Maryland to Texas. A tour of a State usually occupied about ten days during which time, at strategic points throughout the State, addresses would be made to large crowds, composed of both whites and Negroes. The burden of these addresses by Mr. Washington and others was the promotion of good will between the races. The press of the State and of the nation usually gave large publicity to these tours.

The present Commission on Interracial Coöperation, with

headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and with State and local interracial committees in all of the Southern States, is a natural growth of these earlier efforts for the promotion of good will between the races.

When Tuskegee Institute was established, one of the worst features of race relations in the South was the lynching evil, which at that time was at its height. Booker T. Washington gave his attention early to this evil and wrote and spoke against it. Data on lynchings were collected at the school. Tuskegee Institute in 1913 sent out its first annual report on lynchings. This was not the first agency to issue such a report. It is noteworthy, however, that up to this time the agencies issuing reports on lynchings were all outside the South. These reports were in general a criticism of the South where the majority of lynchings occurred. The result was that the South assumed a more or less defensive attitude towards the evil and in many instances sought to justify it.

The result of the issuing of annual reports on lynchings from Tuskegee Institute was far-reaching. These reports were issued in a calm dispassionate manner and without comment. Through the metropolitan press and the rural papers of the South they were given, however, the widest publicity. This issuing without comment of information about lynchings focused attention on the evil and afforded opportunity for newspapers and individuals to express their opinions concerning it. The Tuskegee Institute records gave extended and wide publicity to the fact that the great majority of lynchings, more than three fourths, were for crimes other than attacks on women. These reports on lynching have played no small part in building up a sentiment within the South which has resulted in organized efforts to abate the evil. Among these organizations is the recently established Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching.

It is of interest to note the decrease of lynchings by decades from 1882 to 1932, as shown on page 205.



DECREASE OF LYNCHINGS

1882-1891	1,484	1912-1921	596
1892-1901	1,505	1922-1931	224
1902-1911	783		

Tuskegee Institute, as it grew and developed, was drawn into practically all matters that in any way related to the Negro. Because of the prominence of the school in the life of the race, there arose a continued and increasing demand upon it for information relating to all phases of Negro life. This increasing demand for information came not only from the United States but from other parts of the world. To meet these demands for information about the Negro, the school established in 1908 a Department of Records and Research, the purpose of which was to collect, compile, and send out accurate and reliable information about the Negro. This body of accurate and reliable information helped to turn discussion about the Negro from theory and speculation to a consideration of facts.

Beginning in 1912, a series of monographs, under the title, *The Negro Year Book*, have been issued from the Department of Records and Research of the Institute. The purpose of these monographs is to give a summary of what is taking place in regard to the Negro, both in the United States and in other parts of the world. *The Negro Year Book* became immediately an authoritative source of information on all phases of Negro life. Its circulation became world wide.

Under the leadership of Robert R. Moton, the successor of Booker T. Washington as principal of Tuskegee Institute, the promotion of good will between the races continues. Dr. Moton was one of the prime movers in organizing in 1918 the present Commission on Interracial Coöperation. In 1928, in the publication of *What the Negro Thinks*, he set forth the attitudes and conclusions that the Negro has formed in regard to the situation in which he finds himself.

## RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

### NEEDED EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

A bulletin on "Needed Educational Research in New York State" has been published (1933) by the State Education Department of the University of the State of New York. It has been prepared under the direction of the Committee on Cooperation in Educational Research appointed by the Commissioner of Education of the State.

In his introduction to this pamphlet, Dr. George D. Strayer observes that it is necessary for education to "be in close touch with social movements continuously selecting those things which should be made a part of the training of the young. In the process it must be willing to discard subjects and practices which have the sanction of tradition but which have little present value and organize new procedures."

The Committee believes that "more studies should be made analyzing the educational implications of recent changes." The problem most in need of study at the present time is declared to be the reorganization of school-administrative units.

The bulletin deals with necessary educational projects in elementary education, secondary education, guidance, rural education, higher education, teacher training and status, finance, general administration, the social aspects of education, and extension education. Sixty-three research projects falling under these various titles are listed and described as needing to be undertaken at the present time.

### RESEARCH ON DELINQUENCY AREAS

The following is a summary of an interesting research which is being carried on under the direction of Professor

Donald R. Taft of the department of sociology of the University of Illinois to test some of the findings of Clifford R. Shaw on delinquency areas.

(1) The study has shown a distribution of crime and juvenile delinquency in Danville rather similar to that found by Shaw and others in larger cities, except for one area of delinquency at the outskirts of the city; (2) four different types of areas of delinquency have been found; (3) correlations between crime and various neighborhood conditions have been determined and its relationship, especially to residence of Negroes, to public relief, and to school retardation of children, established; (4) two of the four types of delinquency areas have thus far been studied intensively, contacting every family in the areas many times and using a twenty-page schedule of questions designed among other things to bring out attitudes and neighborhood patterns of behavior; (5) with this knowledge of neighborhoods as a background, numerous case histories are being obtained which it is felt are rather full; (6) related studies of a Federal soldiers' home and of regions outside the city more or less dependent upon it are planned but not yet complete; (7) special attention is being given to the study of selection. . . .<sup>1</sup>

#### CO-CURRICULAR ACTIVITIES

This is a study of those extracurricular activities that have been officially placed within the secondary-school program and assigned a definite period in the daily schedule of the West Virginia schools.<sup>2</sup> All such activities except student participation in school control and inter-high-school athletic activities are included.

The data for the study were secured from two sources: (1) the secondary-school reports that are on file in the office of the State Supervisor of High Schools at the State Capitol; and (2) from the principals and teachers of the various secondary schools. The information from the former source was collected by a personal examination of the records on file. That from the latter sources was secured by the use of questionnaires.

Two questionnaires were sent out—one to the principals and the other to teachers. The questionnaire to teachers consisted of the last portion of the one for principals with additional questions concerning the activities sponsored by

<sup>1</sup>Reprinted from the *American Journal of Sociology*, March 1933, p. 702.

<sup>2</sup>The following statement has been written by Ira N. Warner of Lookout, West Virginia, under whose direction this study has been made.

the teachers, teacher preparation for sponsorship, the effect of success in sponsorship upon securing and holding positions, the principal's attitude towards the activities, and his efforts in stimulating and supervising their growth.

The questionnaire for principals was sent to every secondary-school principal in the State. The one for teachers was sent to a sampling of the teachers. This sampling was made by choosing every fourth school from a list of all the schools in the State arranged in alphabetical order. The names of the teachers for each of these schools were arranged in alphabetical order and every fourth teacher was selected.

The questionnaires covered all the data collected from the reports of the principals to the State in addition to information concerning the preparation for and experience of teachers and principals in directing the activities; teacher philosophy concerning the activities; a description of their organization and administration; an estimate of their success; the attitude of pupils and patrons towards them; a judgment as to the strength and weakness of the activities; the cost of the activities; and suggestions for their improvement. The collection of the same data from the different sources made possible a check on their validity and accuracy and the discovery of certain defects in teacher preparation for the activities and philosophy concerning them that could not have been discovered otherwise.

On the whole, the information from the three sources shows a surprisingly high degree of agreement and enables the reader to accept the data with considerable confidence in their accuracy. But, little statistical procedure is used other than the reduction of the data to tabular form and the interpretation of these data.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*American Minority Peoples*, A study in racial and cultural conflicts in the United States, by DONALD YOUNG.  
New York: Harper and Brothers, 1932, 593 pages.

The author of this admirable book has assembled the facts and principles of the researches into race relations carried on since the World War, and has given them impartial analysis and interpretation providing a new interest and orientation by virtue of his emphasis upon the minority races of America. The objective and scientific attitude of the author is not likely to satisfy the prejudiced who favor or oppose minority cultures, but he has done a far more valuable service by his fair presentation of the facts of race relations. The book, therefore, becomes a valuable source for the serious student who is seeking an adequate knowledge of the vexing problems of race conflict and misunderstanding.

The saneness of the presentation throughout may be illustrated by the following statement: "As a rule, what is taught in the classroom about race and race relations is no more than a humanized reflection of popular beliefs. A few individuals may take a different approach, and a few special courses on immigration, the Negro, and other subjects in which race and racial achievement may be mentioned, can be found, but they are limited in number." The book should be read by every teacher who is seeking to understand the problems of racial adjustment.

*The Railroad to Freedom*, A story of the Civil War, by HILDEGARDE H. SWIFT. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1932, 355 pages.

In contrast to the book by Professor Young is Miss Swift's delightful story written for youth and designed to create a favorable attitude towards the Negro rather than an understanding of racial antipathies and maladjustments. The book is one that a person would enjoy for an evening's reading and would then retire for the night with a deeper appreciation of a minority group which has been misunderstood and mistreated by those of the dominant culture. This book is dedicated to the courageous young and they will profit by reading it.

*Races and Ethnic Groups in American Life*, by T. J. WOORTER, JR. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, 241 pages.

This book is one of the series of monographs published under the direction of the President's Research Committee on Social Trends, and, like all the monographs of this series, is limited to the consideration of needs rather than an exposition of the present situation. The limitation imposed by the nature of the task set for the author makes an

exhaustive treatment impossible, and in the thirteen chapters we find significant titles but treated as indicated in the title of the series, *Recent Social Trends Monographs*.

Within the limits set the author has performed his task admirably and has made an important contribution to the literature relating to racial and ethnic groups. The educator will find the book of great value in his effort to understand the problems of racial conflicts and maladjustments in American life.

**Negro Year Book**, An annual encyclopedia of the Negro, MONROE N. WORK, editor. Tuskegee Institute, Alabama: Negro Year Book Publishing Company, 1931, 518 pages.

The eighth edition of the Negro Year Book for 1931-1932 shows a distinct change in content and arrangement of matter. This edition, while presenting practically all new material, still gives in concise but thoroughgoing form the information desired and presents a comprehensive and impartial view of the events affecting the Negro and his progress throughout the world. This handbook provides the most elaborate and exact material concerning the Negro and is an indispensable source for any student of race problems. The educator will find the book invaluable as a source book.

*A Study of the Economic Status of the Negro*, by T. J. WOOFER, JR. Chicago: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1930, Part I, 58 pages, Part II, 56 pages.

*Summary and Recommendation on the Study of the Economic Status of the Negro*, by T. J. WOOFER, JR. Chicago: Julius Rosenwald Fund, 1930, 28 pages.

This monograph, together with the supplementary monograph presenting the *Summary and Recommendation on the Study of the Economic Status of the Negro*, presents in concise form the essential material relating to the present status of the Negro. The author has brought an exacting technique to this study, has gathered his material with painstaking care, and has presented a judicial analysis of the facts, thus making the study a contribution of first importance to the literature of the Negro.

*The Quarterly Review of Higher Education Among Negroes*, HENRY L. MCCROREY, editor. Charlotte, North Carolina: Johnson C. Smith University, July 1933, 50 pages.

The major articles in this review are: Curriculum Adjustments for the Improvement of English in Negro Colleges, Sociology in Negro Schools and Colleges, 1924-1932, The Comprehensive Examination and

the Negro College, A Curriculum Appropriate for the Small Liberal-Arts College, A Study in English Grammar Learning, Character Education, Tenure of Presidents of Negro Colleges. The articles are well written and give one a clear picture of the status of higher education among the Negroes of America.

*Ability in Social and Racial Classes*, by ROLAND CLARK, DAVIS. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 114 pages.

The research presented in this book represents a new method of experimental attack on the question of whether certain people and certain classes of people are superior in ability because of their biological inheritance. The two primary questions considered are, first, do variations in biological constitution bear any relation to intelligence-test performance? Second, are favorable biological variations distributed equally among the various social and racial classes? The author's results seem to answer the first question in the affirmative and the second in the negative.

*The Anthropometry of the American Negro*, by MELVILLE J. HERSKOVITS. New York: Columbia University Press, 1930, xiv+283 pages.

Includes measurements and observational errors, description of the American Negro type, differences within the series, growth curves and sex differences, validity of the genealogies, and correlation of traits.

*The Negro's Church*, by BENJAMIN ELIJAH MAYS and JOSEPH WILLIAM NICHOLSON. New York: Institute of Social and Religious Research, 1933, xiii+321 pages.

The authors have presented the results of a two-year study of 605 urban and 185 rural Negro churches in the United States. Data are presented for both rural and urban churches in the following fields: origin of the church, the negro ministry, the message of the minister (stenographic reports of representative sermons), membership, buildings and sites, finance, the program of the church including worship, religious education, and fellowship and community activities.

The book is, however, much more than a report of research; it is a fair and sympathetic statement of the present problem of the Negro church, with challenging recommendations for its maintenance of spiritual and social leadership.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

- Adolescent Girlhood*, by Mary Chadwick. New York: The John Day Company.
- Adventures of Ideas*, by Alfred North Whitehead. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Ape and the Child*, by W. N. Kellogg and L. A. Kellogg. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Approach to the Parent*, by Esther Heath. New York: Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications.
- Business and Personal Failure and Readjustment in Chicago*, by John H. Cover. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Call to Teachers of the Nation*, by the Committee of the Progressive Education Association on Social and Economic Problems. Pamphlet No. 30. New York: The John Day Company.
- Children's Sleep*, by Samuel Renshaw, Vernon L. Miller, and Dorothy P. Marquis. Payne Fund Studies on Motion Pictures and Youth. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Comparative Education*, by I. L. Kandel. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.
- Compensation in the Professions*, by Lester W. Bartlett. New York: Association Press.
- Computing Diagrams for the Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficient*, by Leone Chesire, Milton Saffir, and L. L. Thurstone. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Conflicts of Principle*, by Abbott Lawrence Lowell. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- Contemporary Religious Thinking*, edited by R. W. Searles and F. A. Bowers. New York: Falcon Press, Inc.
- Digest of Economics*, by Thomas J. Lovely. New York: Globe Book Company.
- Disabled Man and His Vocational Adjustment*, by Roy N. Anderson. New York: Institute for the Crippled and Disabled.
- Education of Visually Handicapped Children*, by Ralph Vickers Merry. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Elements of Statistics*, by Warren R. Good. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Ann Arbor Press.
- Government of the People*, by D. W. Brogan. New York: Harper and Brothers.
- Insecurity, A Challenge to America*, by Abraham Epstein. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas.
- Institutional Behavior*, by Floyd L. Allport. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press.
- Meaning of Right and Wrong*, by Richard C. Cabot. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Modern Germany*, by Paul Kosok. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Modern School Administration*, edited by John C. Almack. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.



# The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## EDITORIAL

During the summer of 1932, about half of the members of a seminar on experimentation in education conducted at Pennsylvania State College agreed to undertake coöperative controlled experiments on character education during the ensuing winter. This issue of THE JOURNAL is devoted entirely to the presentation of the findings of this set of experiments. The investigations deal almost exclusively with a single phase of the subject—the influence of *instruction*, of one kind or another, upon character development. Sixteen different investigators participated in the experiments, employing thirty pairs of matched groups and making one hundred and eighty measured comparisons between mean attainments of groups given some type of instruction headed towards character-development objectives and otherwise equal groups not so instructed. This is by far the largest mass of scientific evidence now available on the question of the potency of moral instruction in modifying conduct. In fact, the previous controlled experiments dealing with this topic have been so few and so small in scope that we may say the question has hitherto been nearly untouched. Even the thirty experiments constituting this set are enough only to scratch the surface, so many-sided and difficult of quantitative attack is the question. But it is hoped that the results herein presented will open the field in a stimulating manner and that they will provide some preliminary indications of the trends to be expected from more exhaustive research.

C. C. P.

## THE POTENCY OF INSTRUCTION IN CHARACTER EDUCATION

CHARLES C. PETERS

Perhaps the elders of every age are more or less troubled about the "morals" of the oncoming generation. The untamed youth seems to them wayward, irresponsible, and contemptuous of the "tried and proved" customs to an extent that causes alarm for the safety of the future. But at certain periods of especially hurried transition this uneasiness becomes more than customarily acute and there is an unusually diligent search for ways of "training the rising generation in character." The present seems to be one of these times. Character education has, therefore, swung to the center of the stage in educational discussion. All sorts of proposals are being made for reaching this objective and many different means are being put into practice.

*But can character be improved by teaching?* Will our plausible-looking programs actually produce desirable outcomes? Or shall we be obliged, as we look back upon our efforts from the future, to admit that, although our ambition was pathetically earnest, our means were foolishly conceived? We in America have in general vast faith in "education." Whenever we find some weakness in our social order we bethink ourselves of "education" through the schools as the way to remedy it. But it is probable that we greatly overestimate the potency of formal education as a means of affecting conduct. It is probable that our civic education, our cultural education, and even our vocational education make far less difference in the functioning abilities of the persons to whom they have been applied than we are in the habit of believing. Controlled experiments on the functioning of school instruction have been disconcertingly disillusioning to educational optimists. *It may be well that this same thing will prove to hold for instruction intended to improve "character."* It behooves

us, therefore, at the beginning of our efforts to take measured stock of what we can accomplish by instruction. The series of experiments described in this issue of *THE JOURNAL* undertakes such evaluation with regard to certain representative programs of instruction.

In this series of articles we are using the term "character" very loosely. We should certainly not wish either what we include or what we omit to be taken as any contribution towards defining the scope of "character education." Character consists of an aggregate of habits, attitudes, and functioning philosophies of life of which only illustrative ones come within our set of experiments. Within "character," but by no means exhausting its connotation, is what we more narrowly call "morality"; that is, conformity with the *mores* of the societies to which the interpreter belongs.

As far as character is an acquired thing (which it is chiefly, if not entirely), it has two intertwined sources—imitation of others and trial-and-error experience on the part of the subject himself. Of these the former is by far the most frequent source. The *mores* are transmitted almost entirely in this manner and certainly "social suggestion" and "social radiation" are very powerful in molding all attitudes, tastes, and appreciations; and they make vast contributions in the shaping of ideals and philosophies of life. But the socially transmitted ways are tested in the individual's own experience and somewhat reshaped to fit reality as he finds it; and, especially in the reflection of the more philosophically tempered members of society, they may be radically and profoundly reshaped.

In consequence of these sources of character it is clear that the major factor in education for character formation must be social pressure from the groups to which the individual belongs, mostly unconscious pressure to which the individual yields little by little without knowing it. Nevertheless, it is within the power of educational executives (including teachers) somewhat to shape and direct, or at least to select, the pressures.

But it is in the learner's own experience that these socially proffered techniques are tested, refined, and personally assimilated. Experience, too, can be directed in school. It is, indeed, the sole function of a school so to set the stage that pupils will get fruitful experiences as rapidly and economically as possible. So character may be shaped through the participations of pupils in class activities, through the clubs and projects of the school, through organizations for pupil government, through the give-and-take of conversation and other forms of social life, and through every sort of dynamic experience in play and work. In all of these activities pupils try various techniques and select those that they find successful, or they observe the results of others' activities and accept for themselves those ways that they observe to be effective while rejecting those that appear "wrong." These accepted ways they build into their habit systems, their ideals and attitudes, their convictions and philosophies of life.

But the experience by which the socially proffered techniques are tested and assimilated need not necessarily be of the overt motor type. Thinking, too, is a kind of acting. When a person deliberates, he is trying out alternative ways of responding to a situation just as he is doing in trial-and-error experience, except that he is confining his trials to incipient acts carried in mental imagery and perhaps tagged through the aid of language. So reflection may be a substitute for direct trial-and-error experience after one has had enough overt experience to afford him types of known sequences upon which to draw. Just as one may watch others acting and learn from their successes and failures, so he may follow in imagination the conduct of characters narrated in anecdote, in literature, or in history. Thus, there is, besides social pressure operating through social suggestion and social radiation, and besides direct experience operating through personal trial and error, a third means of acquiring those readinesses to respond in which character consists—by vicarious experience in reflection, discussion, and listening critically to narrations of the experiences of others.

It is the management of this third item that we name "instruction" when we use that term in its strict sense. To instruct is to manage the situation in such a way that a pupil shall have ideas come before his mind for consideration that promise effective ways of achieving the ends he wishes to attain. Sometimes this takes the form of setting a concrete model and directing attention to its salient features, which we call demonstrating. Sometimes it has the form of directly proposing, which we call lecturing. Sometimes it involves marshalling a mass of ideas by developmental questioning. Sometimes it encourages deliberation by suggesting alternative possibilities or inducing the pupil to assemble alternative possibilities by his own systematized search. And sometimes it favors the presence of many alternative proposals out of which choice may be made by setting the stage for group discussion. But in all legitimate instruction it is the pupil himself who must accept, out of the proffered possibilities, those that he feels will work. Thus instruction is a very different thing from authoritatively telling a pupil "what's what" and expecting him passively to receive this.

Therefore, instruction is really not fundamentally different from learning through experience or from imitation. In learning from personal experience one accepts those ways of responding that prove fittest by his own direct trials. As he accumulates experience he is able to substitute imagined experiences for real ones and hence to make choices on the basis of deliberation. As he watches others he puts himself in their places and profits from their experiences vicariously, *i.e.*, imitates them. As his stock of experience becomes enriched and he gets effective command of language, he can live through these experiences of others when narrated, or even when put into the form of abstract generalizations, and can thus with far greater rapidity avail himself vicariously of the findings of the experiences of others. If, while living in this realm of the abridged actions that we call ideas, he can have the aid of a guide whom we call a teacher, to help him find revelant leads

and to see the abortive consequences of false leads, he can make the ideational substitute for overt experience so much the more effective. If he can match wits with his peers in group discussion while testing the probable fitness of proposed lines of action, this vicarious living is likely to be still more effective. Thus, between learning by direct experience and learning by instruction there is no sharp break; the latter is only more schematic and symbolic than the former.

It is, consequently, a plausible hypothesis that school instruction may be made a potent means of character formation. Is this hypothesis true? If so, we as educators are in a happy condition, for instruction is cheap and easily managed as compared with the total of the direct experiences of children. If it is not, we are in an awkward position, for instruction constitutes the major portion of the strategy of all conventional schools, if not of all schools. To test the truth of this hypothesis was the purpose of the set of experiments described in this issue.

Besides this question of the functioning of *instruction* in the shaping of character, there are several other questions relating to the possibility of purposive training for character, answers to which should be sought through scientific research:

1. What are the indirect contributions to character education from different methods of teaching school subjects? Miss Allen's experiment, in this series, is suggestive of possibilities here.

2. To what extent can different school subjects be made to contribute to character education by reason of certain emphases within them? To this possibility the studies of Miss Meek and Messrs. Campbell and Stover are pertinent.

3. Do extracurricular activities contribute, or can they be made to contribute, to the development of desirable character traits? This is a question on which there is much argument but extremely little experimental evidence. The only material this series has on it is the very inconclusive set of experiments on athletics by Hackenburger, Yeich, and Weisenfluh.

4. Do the disciplinary policies and practices of the school significantly affect personality traits? We have no evidence on this. We are hoping for an opportunity to attack this problem in the following way: From a large school system select several hundred junior-high-school pupils who have come up through the grades under teachers who are more

of martinets than the average and several hundred others who have come up under teachers who give pupils more than the average amount of room for freedom and initiative; then compute biserial or tetrachoric coefficients of correlation between strictness in discipline and each of a number of measurable character traits.

5. How do such nonschool educational agencies as the movies affect character development, and in what forms can these agencies be made to contribute useful values? On the former part of this question some evidence is supplied by the series of Payne Fund studies now being published by The Macmillan Company.

All of the experiments involved in our series are of the matched-group form. In each case a number of subjects were given a certain type of instruction and an equal number were used as a control group. The members of these two groups were matched, pair by pair, on one or more criteria for probable ability to improve in the experimental trait. This matching of groups by individual pairs not only makes the mean ability score the same for both groups but also makes the shape of the distributions the same at all points. Any matching criterion is valid that gives promise of high correlation with ability to make progress in the trait towards which the experimental factor is directed. Ordinarily, *matching simultaneously on a number of criteria, each of which is correlated with ability to learn in respect to the trait in question, but which are not highly correlated with one another*, gives better matched groups than pairing on a single criterion, but it also renders difficult the making of pairs. Probably the best scheme of pairing is one that involves some measure of rapidity of learning—one of the quotients—plus measurement of initial status in the experimental trait, for at least three reasons: (1) attainment to date is likely to be highly predictive of learning ability in the trait considered; (2) matching on the basis of initial attainment places the two mates at about the same position on the learning curve, and position on the learning curve at the beginning of the race has much to do with the prospect of improvement; and (3) matching on initial scores with which final scores are to be compared is likely to place together mates who have experienced similarly signed errors of measurement when the pairing is

also based on the second criterion suggested above. In addition to being matched for learning ability, both groups in each of our experiments were, of course, treated exactly alike except in relation to the experimental factor.

When a scientist has found an apparent law he always wishes to know with what degree of assurance he may depend upon it. Consequently, we wish to know the reliability of our findings in educational experimentation. The conventional formula for the reliability of a difference between two means is:

$$\sigma_{m_1-m_2} = \sqrt{\sigma_{m_1}^2 + \sigma_{m_2}^2 - 2r_{12}\sigma_{m_1}\sigma_{m_2}}$$

Recognizing that  $\sigma_m$  equals  $\frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n}}$ , and that the  $n$  is the same for both groups when the members are arranged in pairs, we have:

$$\sigma_{m_1-m_2} = \sqrt{\left(\frac{\sigma_1^2}{n} + \frac{\sigma_2^2}{n} - 2r_{12}\frac{\sigma_1\sigma_2}{n}\right)}$$

But in much experimental work with matched groups the third term, containing the  $r$ , is illegitimately omitted, resulting in a standard error that is too high. This is sometimes done because of ignorance of the true formula but often on account of the labor involved in computing the coefficient of correlation. Fortunately there is a very much simpler formula that gives identically the same results as the three-term one above which, for some strange reason, workers in statistics have almost completely overlooked. There are several ways of developing this simple formula, but we shall get it by making the conventional formula, given above, our starting point.

One of the forms of the Pearson product-moment correlation formula is:

$$r_{12} = \frac{\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2 - \sigma_d^2}{2\sigma_1\sigma_2}$$

where the  $d$  is a difference between paired scores in the two arrays. Let us substitute this value for  $r$  in the second



of our reliability formulae just given. Doing the indicated cancelling we shall have:

$$\sigma_{m_1-m_2} = \frac{\sqrt{\left( (\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2 - 2\left(\frac{\sigma_1^2 + \sigma_2^2 - \sigma_d^2}{2\sigma_1\sigma_2}\right)\sigma_1\sigma_2 \right)}{\sqrt{n}} = \sqrt{\left(\frac{\sigma_d^2}{n}\right)} = \frac{\sigma_d}{\sqrt{n}}$$

Thus, in order to obtain the standard error of the difference between the means we take the differences between the end scores of paired individuals, find the standard deviation of this set of paired differences, and divide that by the square root of the number of pairs. Although this requires the computation of no coefficient of correlation, it takes full cognizance of the force of any element of correlation that is present.

In most of our experiments the results are in the form of the differences between *gains* by the two groups between initial measurements and final ones. The conventional formula for the standard error of the difference between mean gains is a very long and complicated one, consisting when correctly written of ten terms as compared with three in the one for end differences, and six of these terms involve the six possible intercorrelations among the four arrays. But I have shown elsewhere (in a book on statistics soon to be published) that we have an exact equivalent of this cumbersome formula in a very simple one parallel to the one just given for differences between end scores:

$$\sigma_{m_{g_1} - m_{g_2}} = \frac{\sigma_{dg}}{\sqrt{n}}$$

That is, we subtract an individual's initial score from his final score to find his gain; we similarly find the gain made by his mate; we take the difference between these two gains (which we call *dg*), find the standard deviation of the array of these differences in gains, and divide this standard deviation by the square root of the number of pairs. The procedure for end scores is illustrated in Table IV on page 242 and that for gains in Table II on page 235.

All the standard errors in connection with our experi-

ments are computed by these methods. For the benefit of relatively lay readers these are usually labeled S.E.diff. in our tables.

How great must a difference be in order to be significant? It is often said that it must be three times its standard error. But to say that is to appeal to a kind of magic. As a matter of fact there is no precise ratio at which a difference becomes significant. It is all a matter of odds against reversal of the advantage. When a difference is three times its standard error the chances are, assuming a normal distribution of differences from successive samples, 740 to 1 that the true difference is in the indicated direction; if the ratio is 2, the chances are 43 to 1, and if the ratio is .8, the chances of a true difference in the same direction are 3.7 to 1. When a ratio of three is demanded the great majority of differences turn out to be "not statistically significant" and the implication is left that the two procedures are of equal value even though the chances may be several hundred to one that continued experimentation would show an indicated one superior to the other. Personally I should like to bet on the stock market with the chances even three or four to one in my favor, and similarly I am willing to bet on a method of improving character while we await further experimental evidence with the odds not much greater.

Another important consideration is *the direction of the differences in duplicated experiments*. If several experiments give differences in the same direction the reliability is greatly increased. It is a well-known principle in the mathematics of probability that if the probability of the occurrence of a given event is  $p$  when one condition obtains and  $q$  when another condition obtains, that probability is  $p$  times  $q$  when both conditions obtain. By this law if the probability of having obtained a difference of a certain size in favor of an experimental factor when the true difference is on the other side is  $1/4$  in one experiment and  $1/6$  in a second experiment, it is the product of these two, or only  $1/24$ , that a difference would have been obtained of

these sizes on this same side in both the trials if the true difference did not lie on that side. This same principle would hold for any combination of experiments, although a different principle must be applied when differences lie on opposite sides of zero.

This is, of course, true only if the experiments are independent of one another. If they involve the same pupils or the same teachers, but different measures of success, so that there is some element of correlation present, we cannot simply multiply together the probabilities. Nevertheless, under all circumstances except perfect correlation (perhaps never present) a set of differences pointing prevalingly in the same direction indicates much higher reliabilities than those of the separate trials. In many themes on which we experiment, differences are real but inherently small. The summary of the experiments of this set suggests that, for systematic instruction, the true differences average about four tenths of a standard deviation. I have determined that, neglecting the correlation factor between gains (likely to be very small), and ignoring the slight difference between the standard deviation of a single array and that of the two matched arrays combined, it would require 113 pairs of subjects in an experiment showing this difference to reach a ratio of three or more in half the trials and 153 pairs to reach such ratio in two thirds of the trials. Such groups are not attainable as single groups under ordinary school conditions.

In our next article we shall justify the use of ratings as measuring devices, upon which we have leaned heavily in this set of experiments. In the following articles we shall set forth the experimental findings in as much detail as space permits. After these presentations of details, I shall summarize the findings from the set of experiments as a whole, putting these in a form that is readily comparable for all of the nearly two hundred experimental comparisons, and draw the indicated conclusions.

## THE RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF ESTIMATES (RATINGS) AS MEASURING TOOLS

JAMES C. SWAB AND CHARLES C. PETERS

One of the most serious obstacles to controlled experimentation in character education, as well as in certain other areas, is the lack of suitable measuring instruments. Verbal tests have been highly developed during the past quarter of a century, and certain types of non-verbal performance tests have also been brought to a high state of perfection within certain areas. But verbal tests have distinct limitations; they reveal chiefly informations, judging abilities, and perhaps preferences and attitudes. But practical conduct in life situations may not agree, at least completely, with these declared informations, judgments, and preferences. Performance tests, as we know them, must usually be forced in such an artificial manner in order to yield objective scores as to make it impractical to use them outside of a specially prepared laboratory. Within the past few years educational and psychological research workers have been trying out ratings based on free estimates as measuring tools and have been agreeably surprised at the reliabilities and validities shown when averages from a number of judges were involved. This study has as its object an investigation of the reliability and validity of estimates. To show the evidence it contains is particularly necessary at this point because most of the articles in this magazine make use of pupil-and-teacher estimates as their chief measuring devices.

This study involved 30 pupils in the seventh grade of a small Pennsylvania school system and 34 pupils in the eighth grade. Since these were all the pupils in those grades, they each had the opportunity to know one another very intimately. For some of the traits dealt with in the investigation the objective facts were known, so that we had validity criteria for the ratings relating to them, while for others we had no such criteria. We could, therefore, in-

investigate the reliabilities of the estimates for all of the traits studied but the validities of the estimates for only those for which we had objective facts.

The traits involved in the study were the following: honesty, courtesy, brightness, ability in arithmetic, height, and age. Honesty was used in the sense of the following definition: Honesty is that quality of man that shows him fair and truthful in speech; above cheating, stealing, misrepresentation, or any other fraudulent action. Courtesy is showing consideration for others; politeness; favor as distinguished from right. Brightness was evidenced to the pupils who constituted the judges by ability to answer or to recite well in class in all school subjects. For purposes of a validity criterion it was determined by scores on an intelligence test. The other terms—arithmetic grades, age, and height—were used in the conventional sense.

Each pupil in a section was given a pack of cards containing the names of all the members of the section (grade). The pupils were asked to group these names, representing the pupils of the class, into five stacks: tallest, tall, average, short, shortest; or oldest, old, average, young, youngest; or whatever else was the trait being ranked. They were then asked to complete the rankings within each pile so that all the pupils in the room would be ranked from the highest to the lowest. In making these rankings the pupils had in mind the definitions given above. From records of the actual facts regarding the pupils on those traits for which we had validity criteria, the cards were also ranked and the ranks recorded.

For the purpose of determining the validity of the estimates a composite rank was obtained for each pupil by averaging the ranks assigned him by his mates, reranking these composite scores according to relative size, and then computing the coefficient of correlation between ranks in estimates and paired ranks according to the actual measurements of the trait in question. The correlations were computed by the Spearman ranks method and the rho's translated into corresponding r's by means of tables.

Reliability coefficients were computed in two different ways, in order that we might check the results of the two methods against each other.

1. A score was obtained for each pupil from a random half of the raters and another from the other half, and the scores from these two halves correlated by the Pearson product-moment method. Since this gave the reliability of the average of the estimates of only half of the judges against another half while we needed that of the whole set against another set of equal size and character, we inferred the latter by application of the Spearman-Brown formula:

$$r_{\bar{a}\bar{a}} = \frac{2r_{\frac{a}{2}\frac{a}{2}}}{1 + r_{\frac{a}{2}\frac{a}{2}}}$$

That is, we divided twice the  $r$  between the scores from the halves by 1 plus this  $r$ .

2. We obtained the average intercorrelation among the ranks for the 30 judges in the seventh grade, or the 34 judges in the eighth grade, by the following formula:<sup>1</sup>

$$r_{II} = 1 - \frac{a(4N+2)}{(a-1)(N-1)} + \frac{12\S S^2}{aN(a-1)(N^2-1)}$$

In this the  $a$  is the number of judges, the  $N$  is the number of pupils ranked (which in this particular case was the same as the number of judges), the  $S$  is the sum of the ranks for a particular pupil assigned by all the judges, and the  $\Sigma S^2$  the aggregate of the squares of these pupil sums for all the pupils in the class. These average intercorrelations ranged, for the various traits in the two grades, from .412 to .839 and showed the extent of agreement, on the average, between the rankings of any two judges.

Our concern was not, however, with the extent of agreement of one judge with another but rather with the extent of agreement to be expected between *the average rankings by the whole set of judges* and the average by another set of the same size that might in the future be drawn from

<sup>1</sup>The proofs for all of the formulae in this article are given in T. L. Kelley, *Statistical Method* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923), pp. 205-218, and in C. C. Peters, *Motion Pictures and Standards of Morality* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933), pp. 278-283.

the same sort of population. This  $r$  between the average from our whole set of judges ( $a$  in number) and the average from a similar set can be predicted by the Spearman prophecy formula:

$$r_{\bar{a}\bar{a}} = \frac{ar_{11}}{1+(a-1)r_{11}}$$

where the  $r_{11}$  is the average intercorrelation found by the preceding formula and  $a$  is again the number of judges.

We may also infer the extent to which the average from our  $a$  judges would agree with the average from an indefinitely large number (the so-called "true" estimate) as follows:

$$r_{\bar{a}00} = \frac{ar_{11}}{\sqrt{ar_{11} + (a^2-a)r_{11}^2}}$$

The results for these several computations for the various traits for the two grades are displayed in the accompanying table. The first row across (1) gives the average intercorrelation among the judges; the second line (2) shows the inferred reliability correlation for the whole set of judges against a second similar set by way of the average intercorrelations; the third line (3) shows the correlations between the average ratings and the "true" ratings; the fourth line (4) gives the  $r$  between the ratings averaged from random halves of the judges; and the fifth line (5) gives the total reliability coefficient by way of the Spearman-Brown formula—a value that should be parallel to line 2. The other lines are self-explanatory.

Inspection of lines numbered 2 and 5 in the table shows extremely high reliability coefficients. In no case does the coefficient fall below .946 and prevailingly the  $r$ 's are around .98. It is only rarely that objective verbal tests reach as high as this. How closely the average estimates from the 30 or the 34 judges agree with the "true" estimates is revealed in lines numbered 3. These  $r$ 's fall not far short of unity. A second feature worth noticing is the very close agreement between results from the two methods

of determining reliability, as indicated by lines numbered 2 and 5.

The validities, shown at the lower part of each section of the table, are of especial concern to us, for they show the extent to which the estimates conform to the objectively determined truth. For height the validity correlation is .965 in the seventh grade and .840 in the eighth grade. These good validities are doubtless to be attributed in part to the fact that height is a readily observable trait, and the greater validity in the seventh grade than in the eighth may be due to greater heterogeneity in the former grade than in the latter.

For age the correlation expressing the degree of agreement between average estimate and objective fact is .508 in the seventh grade and .594 in the eighth. While these  $r$ 's are not very high, they must be viewed in the light of the homogeneity of the groups, for it is well known that small  $r$ 's where the variability in either or both of the groups compared is slight are equivalent to much larger ones where the variabilities are greater. The semi-interquartile range of ages was only nine months in the seventh grade and only three months in the eighth.

The arithmetic grades the pupils should receive were estimated by the judges in a way that correlated with the grades later given by the teacher: .770 in the seventh grade and .845 in the eighth. Both these correlations may be considered high when we remember the possibility of a certain lack of reliability in the grades themselves and also the lack of perfect validity in the grades. If these  $r$ 's could be corrected for attenuation, they would probably not fall far short of unity.

There remain the validity correlations for estimates of brightness. These were .340 in the seventh grade and .210 in the eighth grade. At first these coefficients look unreasonably low, but their lowness may be explained by possible lack of validity in the intelligence-test scores themselves. It must be remembered that intelligence-test scores correlate with teachers' grades or with other objective meas-



ures of scholarship only from about .20 to .60, averaging perhaps .38 or .40. Even these objective measurements of achieved scholarship may be more narrow in scope than the thing the pupils meant by brightness. Furthermore, the range of talent was not very great at this level for a single grade and was probably less in the eighth grade than in the seventh. If our validity correlations could be corrected for these faults in the criterion, they might well be satisfactorily high.

A number of other investigations made at Penn State, in which the reliabilities of ratings were involved as a by-product, agree with this one in showing high reliabilities and high validities for averages from ratings. Campbell obtained a reliability coefficient of .985 by having 39 members of a social fraternity rate one another on "personal culture," Merrill got, by the split-halves method for the experiment reported in this series, a reliability coefficient of .935 in the fall ratings and .823 in the spring ratings, while Eichler's reliability coefficient for his ratings on leadership by pupils was .964. In the evaluation of motion pictures by committees of five members we obtained twenty-six reliability coefficients ranging from .76 to .98, usually in the .90's. Twenty reliability coefficients were computed on evaluations of the moral quality of certain described bits of conduct in connection with our study of motion pictures and standards of morality by groups of from 18 to 50 members each. These ranged from .796 to .981 and averaged .933. When groups of 187 members were made up by consolidating the smaller groups, the  $r$ 's for the four types of themes were .987, .994, .990, and .983. From estimates of the pleasure-giving values of items in chemistry education Wray got sixteen reliability coefficients ranging from .751 to .951 when groups of from 9 to 36 members each were used, .943 when a group of 142 members was used, .953 for a group of 176 members, and thirteen other such  $r$ 's ranging from .910 to .956 from other groups of this same order of size. In a similar study dealing with psychology Lick obtained a reliability coeffi-

cient of .94 from 100 judges. From repetition of ratings after a long interval Wray obtained  $r$ 's of .957 and .980 from a group of 38 college seniors.

Suggestive of both the validity and the reliability of the ratings, we have obtained regularly rather high agreements among different groups rating the same objects. Eichler's pupil ratings on leadership correlated with teacher ratings .77. Glatfelter's pupil ratings showed the following  $r$ 's with those by teachers rating the same persons for the same traits: coöperation .795; courtesy .754; industry .829; loyalty .779; dependability .779. Forty intercorrelations among different groups on the evaluation of the moral quality of described acts in our motion-picture study averaged .838. Wray calculated 43 intercorrelations among diverse groups as to the values found in certain items of chemistry education and found them to average .736 (uncorrected for attenuation, as all of them are which are quoted here). Himes found correlations between boys and girls in the ratings on pleasure values in biology to range between .73 and .87, and to average .81. In view of the fact that real differences among the groups would bring these  $r$ 's somewhat below unity even if the measures were perfect, such high coefficients of correlation could not be obtained unless the ratings as handled had both good validity and good reliability.

Investigators other than those at Penn State have experienced similarly satisfactory results from averages of ratings.

In view of all the evidence accumulated during the past few years no one can any longer deny to ratings a place beside objective verbal tests as dependable measuring devices—uniquely valid for measuring certain types of functioning conduct in normal life situations.

## CAN SOCIAL LEADERSHIP BE IMPROVED BY INSTRUCTION IN ITS TECHNIQUE?

GEORGE A. EICHLER AND ROBERT R. MERRILL

One of the most boasted objectives of practically all types of schools is training for leadership. This objective is, however, customarily not clearly defined and usually fuses more or less vaguely two elements: (1) outstanding technical expertness of a type that will get the individual who possesses it looked to and sought as an authority in his field; and (2) the attributes and techniques that enable one to set standards of conduct for others and particularly that enable him to command a following among others—to direct and control other individuals or groups. We shall call this latter type of leadership, the actual management of other individuals and groups, *social leadership*. When hard pressed, most educational policy makers, especially in the higher institutions, will admit that it is the former that they chiefly mean when talking of education for leadership. Yet the latter is also extremely important in society, especially in a democratically organized society. As yet schools seem to have consciously done little about it and their attainments in respect to it appear to be as meager as their efforts.

If ways could be found for improving among students in training the ability to lead others by effective techniques towards socially desirable ends, the educational contribution thereby made would be of inestimable importance. Can social leadership be improved by systematic training? Since it is conditioned by the employment of certain techniques, can at least a partial mastery of these techniques be developed in pupils by instruction? Can the basic skills involved in leadership be developed by guided practice? Or can a functioning leadership be, perhaps, improved by a combination of guided practice paralleled by a theoretical consideration of techniques? To secure an

answer to the first of these questions was the purpose of the two experiments described in this article. We hope, in a continuation of the experiment, to find an answer to the second and third of the questions.

#### PROCEDURE

The parallel group method of experimentation was used. Student ratings of one another on leadership were used in both studies. In study A,<sup>1</sup> a mimeographed list of 72 members of a sophomore class was handed to this class and the members were requested to rank every classmate on leadership. In study B, students not used in the experiment were given ballots in the form of 3x5 cards on which were names of some of their classmates. They were asked to rate their classmates on leadership on a five-point scale by encircling the proper number. The encircled numbers for each particular student were added and the result divided by the number of cards marked for him. This gave a leadership index for the student. On the basis of this information, control and experimental sections were paired. Study B was carried on with a control and an experimental section in grades nine and twelve in two different schools in order to secure a check on the experiment. In both studies the experimental groups were taught lessons in leadership. This instruction in study A consisted of six forty-five minute lectures on leadership qualities and techniques. Instruction in study B consisted of eleven thirty-minute conferences on various qualities and techniques of leadership. In the case of study A, the instruction was given over a period of six weeks while in study B the instruction was spread over about seven months. The reliability coefficient of the ratings used for the measurement of progress in study A was .935 and in study B .964.

The table on page 235 gives the results for the twelfth grade in study B. On the left the data are given for the pupils of the experimental section and on the right, on the

<sup>1</sup>These experiments were carried out by R. R. Merrill in Youngsville, Pennsylvania, in 1931, and by G. A. Eichler in Northampton, Pennsylvania, in 1933. The former study will be referred to in this article as study A, and the latter as study B.

same horizontal lines as their mates, the pupils of the control section. The columns headed IR give the initial ratings; those headed ER, the end ratings; those headed G, the gains during the period of experimentation; while the DG column gives the differences in gains by paired mates.

TABLE II  
COMPARATIVE GAINS IN LEADERSHIP RATINGS BY INSTRUCTED AND UNINSTRUCTED  
PUPILS—STUDY D

Pairs	Experimental Group			Control Group			
	IR	ER	G	IR	ER	G	DG
1	403	370	— 33	402	383	—19	—14
2	390	423	+ 33	395	397	+ 2	+ 31
3	372	380	+ 8	378	374	— 4	+ 12
4	365	374	+ 9	366	395	+29	—20
5	352	347	— 5	351	363	+12	—17
6	344	297	—47	337	300	—37	—10
7	334	200	—134	332	294	—38	—98
8	327	369	+ 42	328	368	+40	+ 2
9	318	391	+ 73	319	246	—71	+144
10	277	250	—27	276	245	—31	+ 4
11	263	289	+ 26	263	242	—21	+ 57
12	261	292	+ 31	257	246	—11	+ 42
13	248	203	—45	248	198	—50	+ 5
14	239	273	+ 34	240	204	—36	+ 70
15	229	190	—39	228	232	+ 4	—43
16	221	239	+ 18	225	232	+ 7	+ 11
17	217	206	—11	223	187	—36	+ 25
18	214	200	—14	207	193	—14	0
19	202	177	—25	204	223	+19	—44
20	200	189	—11	203	226	+23	—34
21	199	208	+ 18	187	206	+19	—1
22	150	150	0	156	160	+ 4	—4
Mean	278	273.5	—4.5	278.4	268.9	—9.5	+5.

It will be noticed that the experimental group lost an average of 4.5 and the control group 9.5 which nets a difference of 5. in favor of the experimental group. The fact that both groups lost is not significant; in general it only indicates a different degree of leniency in rating at the beginning of the experiment from that at the end; it is only the comparative rating on the two groups that is important. We find the standard deviation of the differential gains to be 46.97. We are now interested to know the standard error of the difference of the mean gains.

By use of the formula  $\sigma_{\text{diff}} = \frac{\sigma_{d's}}{\sqrt{n}}$  we find  $\sigma_{\text{diff}}$  to be 10.

The difference between the means of the gains is 5, which divided by 10 yields .5 as the ratio between the standard error and the difference. This indicates that the chances are 2.2 to 1 that there is a true difference in favor of the instructed group. The results in the ninth grade were

strikingly similar to those in the twelfth grade, the chances being 2.2 to 1 that the true difference is above zero in favor of the experimental group.

The results in study B are summarized as follows:

Mean gain in score of experimental group.....	.976
Mean gain in score of control group.....	— .71
Difference between gains in favor of experimental group.....	1.686
$\sigma$ of difference of the means.....	1.178
Ratio of the diff. to $\sigma$ of difference.....	1.431
Chance of true difference being greater than zero in favor of the experimental group .....	12 to 1
Per cent of pupils who gained in score in experimental group..	54.8
Per cent of pupils who gained in score in control group.....	43.9

#### INTERPRETATION OF RESULTS

From a statistical point of view as ordinarily interpreted, the results obtained are far from significant, but they are all in the same direction which greatly strengthens the reliability. In view of the fact that progress in so complex a trait as social leadership is a very different matter from progress in the acquisition of simple motor skills, the results obtained are all that any one could anticipate, for no one would expect to make leaders overnight. If instruction is effective in making a noticeable difference in the short period of these experiments, we may hope to achieve considerable success by continuing proper instruction through the whole secondary-school period.

#### CONCLUSIONS

The results of the studies summarized seem to justify the following conclusions:

1. It seems possible to measure reliably leadership qualities by means of student ratings.
2. It is probable that leadership qualities can be measurably improved by direct instruction.

# THE EFFECT OF DIRECT INSTRUCTION

E. K. ROBB AND J. F. FAUST

Two experiments are described dealing with the possibility of improving ethical discrimination and moral conduct by systematic instruction in the senior high school on ethical problems. The experiments were conducted at Bedford by Mr. Robb and at Chambersburg by Mr. Faust.

## I. THE BEDFORD EXPERIMENT

Two sections of seniors were matched according to I.Q. as measured by the Otis Group Test, and socio-economic status as measured by the Sims Scale. Fifty-two students were included in the experiment, 26 of whom were in the control group and 26 in the experimental group.

The experiment was conducted in connection with the class in problems of democracy. In the control group the regular course of study in problems of democracy was followed throughout the term. In the experimental group this course was supplemented for an eight-week period with direct instruction on ethical problems with the use of Peters's *Human Conduct*<sup>1</sup> as a basic text. The instructor, Mr. W. Edward Sheely, encouraged class discussion of all problems related to the field of character education.

As a measure of the results of the experiment both groups were examined in moral knowledge and ethical discrimination by the use of the Kohs Ethical Discrimination Tests at the beginning and again at the end of the experiment. Teacher ratings were made for each individual at the beginning and at the end of the experiment by the aid of the Character Education Inquiry Conduct Record Sheet. Pupil ratings on the persons involved in the experiment were secured before and after the experiment on industriousness, leadership, honesty, courtesy, and loyalty. In taking the ratings five small cards were supplied to each pupil upon each of which he was requested to write the name of one

<sup>1</sup>C. C. Peters, *Human Conduct* (New York The Macmillan Company, 1918), 427 pages.

intimate acquaintance in his class. Ratings were taken separately on each of the traits. Since the senior class was small enough to permit pupils to know one another rather intimately, and since they all intermingled freely regardless of the sectioning involved in the experiment, the members of both sections chose students for rating indiscriminately from either section. When taking ratings on a trait, the pupils were instructed to arrange the cards of the ones whose names they had written in the order of proficiency in that trait. By recording these rankings with credits according to their rank order we had ratings for each pupil by a number of students for each trait. By averaging the ranks thus assigned to a student by all those who had rated him, a composite score for each pupil was computed.

The results of the Kohs Ethical Discrimination Test showed the difference between the means to be 4.77 with a standard error of 3.17, indicating chances of 14 to 1 that the true difference is in favor of the experimental group. From the teacher ratings the difference between the means was 5.31 with a standard error of 1.93, involving chances of 332 to 1 that the true difference is on the side of the experimental (instructed) group. From the data received from the pupil ratings, the difference between the means of the gains was found to be .03 in favor of the instructed group, with a standard error of .173 and chances of 1.35 to 1 that there is a true difference above zero in favor of the experimental group.

We therefore find for the Kohs Test and the teacher ratings reasonably significant differences, both pointing to an advantage for the group that had received systematic instruction in ethics. While the difference in gain as measured by pupil ratings is much too small to be individually significant, it points to the same direction as the other two. As far as the evidence from this small experiment goes, it suggests that moral discrimination of high-school seniors, and such moral conduct as that covered by our ratings, can be improved by systematic instruction in ethics.



## II. THE CHAMBERSBURG EXPERIMENT

Two homeroom groups, in the ninth grade, containing about thirty pupils each were selected to determine the effect that homeroom programs discussing moral problems would have upon the ethical judgment of the pupils. The pupils were matched directly according to chronological age, school grade, high-school course, and intelligence quotient. They were also matched in a general way on social characteristics, school activities, and school achievement.

The experimental group had homeroom programs one hour per week for eighteen weeks based on various attributes of character, including respect for authority, courtesy, honesty, loyalty, leadership, fair play, sex relationships, service, respect for matters sacred and religious, tolerance, dependability, and coöperation. These programs included a variety of activities, such as debates, discussions, dramatization, reports, observations, notebook projects, vocabulary drills, story-telling, and talks by teacher and principal. The control group had regular homeroom programs where character education was not stressed more than in the incidental way usual in such programs.

Both groups were tested at the beginning of the experiment and again at the end with tests designated as: (1) Character Attributes Test—rather puzzling moral situations somewhat fully stated; (2) Character Reaction Tests, Parts I and II—briefly described moral situations; and (3) Character Attributes Self-Rating Scale. The validity of the tests was established on the judgments of sixty-three adults from different occupations. In addition to these tests the two groups scored themselves at the conclusion of the experiment on the O'Reilly Character Analysis Chart.

A summary of the findings is given in the table on page 240. The negative sign favors the control group.

From Table III, on page 240, it may be seen that the experimental group excelled on two of the three judgment tests, while the control group made the greater gains on the other one. On the homemade self-rating scale the control

TABLE III

COMPARISON OF MEAN GAINS OF THE EXPERIMENTAL AND THE CONTROL GROUPS—CHAMBERSBURG EXPERIMENT

<i>Test</i>	<i>Difference in Mean Gains</i>	<i>Standard Error of Difference</i>	<i>Chances True Difference Same Side</i>
Character Attributes, complex problems	2.4	1.37	24 to 1
Character Reaction, I, briefly stated problems .....	-.90	1.33	3 to 1
Character Reaction, II, brief problems	.8	1.65	2.2 to 1
Self-Rating .....	-1.6	.89	27 to 1
O'Reilly Character Analysis Chart, ..	2.8	2.2	9 to 1

group excelled and on the O'Reilly scale the experimental group made the greater gain. The test of moral judgment on which the control group made the greater gain consisted of short, categorical statements such as, "One should not stretch the truth"; "A leader is one who goes ahead because he has to"; "Dishonest persons are very desirable associates"; "We ought to be loyal to our superiors rather than our subordinates." Test 1, on which the advantage was most largely on the side of the experimental group, involved much more challenging problems stated at considerable length. The third of the judgment tests on which there was a small advantage to the experimental group had prevailing statements between these other two in complexity. It may be possible that the choppy statements of test 2 were too trite to challenge these pupils who had for a semester debated moral issues, or it may be that they involved half truths to an extent that elicited unexpected responses from pupils who had been practised in challenging moral issues, so that their scores at the end of the experiment suffered rather than benefited from the instruction. Or it may be that the outcome of this experiment should be interpreted as a draw, indicating no advantage from the discussion of problems of conduct.

*Conclusion.* While not entirely conclusive, these experiments suggest the possibility of slightly accelerating ethical development as measured by verbal tests, and functioning conduct as measured by ratings, through direct and systematic discussion of problems of conduct by early adolescents.

## THE EFFECT OF THE STUDY OF LATIN UPON CHARACTER TRAITS

ELIZABETH B. MEEK

Is the study of Latin developing better attitudes towards social situations, war, international attitudes? One of the most intangible school problems is the determination of the degree of success that the school has attained in developing desirable attitudes. Unfortunately, educational technique is not very well developed to enable one to measure with certainty such learning products. The chief difficulty is that when we measure understanding we are not measuring the related concrete behavior, and we do not know the correlation between the pupil's knowledge of right and wrong and his actual attitudes and conduct.

It is true that conduct is affected by other factors, such as the emotional factor, as has already been said, but it is probable that the disharmony, which sometimes seems to exist between knowledge and conduct, is due not to a real contradiction between the two, but to the fact that apparent knowledge is not real understanding. It may only be an imitative repetition of the opinion of others . . . If education which is directed towards the improvement of conduct, then, can be shown to produce a substantial improvement in the comprehension of social situations by children, we have good reason to expect that it will produce an improvement in their conduct.<sup>1</sup>

With this assumption an attempt will be made to show how the incidental teaching of character traits through Latin has functioned in the experimenter's school. In the experimental group there were twenty pupils of the tenth grade who were taking Latin. For the control group twenty pupils of the tenth grade were found who were pursuing the same subjects under the same teachers, with the exception of Latin, and who could be paired with the experimental pupils. These forty pupils studied the same subjects under the same teachers in the first eight grades. In the ninth grade they had pursued the same subjects under the same teachers except that the twenty pupils in the experimental group had taken Latin in addition to the other subjects. They were paired on sex, chronological age, intelligence quotient, and on composite grade at the end of the

<sup>1</sup>Yearbook of National Education Association, Department of Superintendence, 1930, p. 756.

eighth school year. To determine the intelligence quotient the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability was administered.

To test the effect of Latin upon developing right attitudes towards social situations, Hill's Test in Civic Attitudes was used. Following are the scores obtained:

TABLE IV  
SCORES FROM HILL'S CIVIC ATTITUDE TEST

Pair Numbers	C Score	E Score	Difference	Pair Numbers	C Score	E Score	Difference
1	19	19	0	11	17	18	1
2	17	19	2	12	17	20	3
3	18	20	2	13	18	18	0
4	19	20	1	14	17	18	1
5	16	19	3	15	19	19	0
6	16	15	-1	16	18	15	-3
7	18	19	1	17	18	17	-1
8	16	17	1	18	17	18	1
9	16	20	4	19	12	14	2
10	19	17	-2	20	16	17	1
				Mean	17.15	17.95	0.8

Thus the difference between the means for the two groups is .8. The standard error of this difference is .37, making the ratio of the difference to its standard error 2.15 and involving chances of 62 to 1 that the true difference is in favor of the Latin group.

The result obtained shows that incidental teaching for character through Latin has had a positive effect. Although the difference is not very great, the period through which this teaching was given extended over only seven months.

To test the effect of Latin upon the attitude towards war, L. L. Thurstone's Attitude Toward War Scale, Number 2, Form A, was used. The following explanation enables one to interpret the individual scores as well as the average score of the group:

0 — 2.9	extremely militaristic	6.0— 6.9	mildly pacifistic
3.0— 3.9	strongly militaristic	7.0— 7.9	strongly pacifistic
4.0— 4.9	mildly militaristic	8.0—11.0	extremely pacifistic
5.0— 5.9	neutral position		

On this measure the mean score of the experimental group was 6.77 and that of the control group 6.30, showing a

difference of .47 in favor of the experimental group. The standard error of the difference is .20, giving a ratio of 2.35 between the difference and its standard error. The chances are, therefore, 105 to 1 that the true difference is on the same side.

The result obtained shows that incidental teaching of character building through Latin has had a positive effect; it has made the pupils more strongly pacifistic. This result is especially gratifying, as many critics adverse to the teaching of Latin have claimed that the reading of such literature as Caesar's *Gallic War* would have a tendency towards making pupils militaristic.

To test the effect of Latin upon international attitudes, Neumann, Kulp, and Davidson's Test of International Attitudes was used. A high score on the test indicates a tendency towards conservatism; a low score indicates a tendency towards liberalism. The results were worked up in precisely the same manner as in the two preceding cases. The Latin group made a mean score of 3.59 and the non-Latin group 3.89, a difference of .30 with a standard error of .094, a ratio of the difference to the standard error of 3.15 and chances of 1,200 to 1 of a true difference in the same direction.

The result obtained shows that incidental teaching for character building through Latin has had a negative effect towards producing a high score, towards making pupils conservative. It has, therefore, made them more inclined towards liberalism which is the desired effect. Of the three tests given this one shows the greatest difference between the two groups. This can very easily be understood when one thinks of the many opportunities presented by Latin history and literature for bringing to the pupils' attention the many fine character qualities manifested by the peoples of races and nations very different from our own.

Thus all three of our measures consistently suggest the possibility of developing desirable character traits by stressing them in connection with the teaching of Latin.

# TEACHING INTERNATIONAL-MINDEDNESS IN THE SOCIAL STUDIES

DON W. CAMPBELL AND G. F. STOVER

## I. THE CONNELLSVILLE EXPERIMENT (CAMPBELL)

The purpose of this study was to determine the possibilities of influencing high-school pupils to become more internationally minded by incidental teaching in economic geography. The investigation covered a period of eighteen weeks and was conducted by the writer in the high school of Conneltsville, Pennsylvania, an industrial community of 14,000 inhabitants. Due to the type of community in which the school is located, pupils of various nationalities were present. The four classes used were comprised of a heterogeneous grouping of sophomores, juniors, and seniors. Pupils were matched on I.Q. and on scores on the Neumann-Kulp-Davidson Test of International Attitudes. From 150 pupils originally tested, 80 were satisfactorily matched and were divided into control and experimental groups.

The teaching method employed in the instruction of both groups was the Unit Mastery Technique. Subject matter was unitized into economic regions of the world and was studied with the aid of mimeographed sheets which stated the objective, the reference readings, and the subproblems related to the major objective of the unit. The pupils were then given time during following class periods to complete the unit and the exercise sheets. Frequent discussion periods were held during which time the control-group students were limited to economic geography.

For the experimental group the above technique was employed and, in addition, use was made of the incidental method of instruction in an endeavor to influence pupils to become more internationally minded. The method consisted of carefully planned procedures to develop in the

pupils a feeling of intimacy for people of distant lands. It was an apparently spontaneous technique that called for interesting sidelights on the people and products studied. During the study of a region the teacher frequently turned from the direct consideration of the subject to mention a custom in that region, or to outline a problem of the people, to show that their problems are similar to the problems which confront us. Again, frequent mention was made of the achievements of other people, their heroes, and the traditions and ideals that they hold.

In order that there should be some definite directions towards which influencing might take place, it was decided to direct teaching towards increased respect for the Germans, increased opposition towards war, and an increased preference for the Chinese. For this purpose the three relevant Thurstone attitude scales were used. Form A of a scale was given to each group; then, after a period of four weeks during which time incidental instruction was given to the experimental group, Form B of the scale was administered. Also, at the end of the whole eighteen-week period of experimentation, the Neumann-Kulp-Davidson test was repeated. The following table shows the results. I.S. stands for initial score and E.S. for end score. The positive sign with the differences between means of gains indicates that the advantage was on the side of the experimental group. The Neumann-Kulp-Davidson test is scored in such a manner that low scores show cosmopolitanism and high scores provincialism. A similar thing is true of the war attitudes scale used. This must be kept in mind in interpreting the "advantage" in the table below.

TABLE V  
SUMMARY OF MEAN SCORES AND MEAN GAINS ON FOUR CRITERIA OF  
INTERNATIONAL-MINDEDNESS

Test	Control Group			Experimental Group			Differ- ence	Ratio to S.E.
	Mean I.S.	Mean E.S.	Mean Gain	Mean I.S.	Mean E.S.	Mean Gain		
Germans.....	6.993	6.997	.0075	6.930	6.975	.045	.0375	.155
War.....	4.692	5.052	.360	4.652	4.535	-.1175	.477	1.66
Chinese.....	5.437	5.975	.538	5.540	6.037	.497	-.041	.10
Neumann, Kulp, and Davidson..	3.979	4.028	.049	3.971	3.890	-.081	.130	1.60

Inspection of the table reveals that three of the tests show a greater growth of internationalism on the part of

the experimental group than on the part of the control group. With respect to the Chinese there was a slight difference in favor of the control group, but this difference was only one tenth of its standard error.

## II. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE OPAQUE PROJECTOR (STOVER)

One comes to know any country or people by living the life of that country or people. Since this is impossible of achievement to any considerable extent for many individuals and groups, we must depend upon vicarious participation and indirect observation through the medium of pictures, stories, etc. In the experiment about to be described, we employed such concrete aids in order to introduce our pupils realistically to the peoples of the world. We stressed in the races studied: (1) similar culture traits, (2) kindness and congeniality traits, (3) dependability traits, (4) certain races as victims of persecution and oppression, (5) the noncompetitive achievement of outstanding individuals and of the race in general. In addition, the classroom instruction stressed the effect of environment upon standards of living, the living conditions on various economic levels, explanation of causes of racial conflict, and examples of devotion of peoples to their chosen religion.

In the first experiment two groups of twenty-four ninth-grade girls each were paired on the basis of scores obtained from the Bogardus Racial Distance Scale. All of the girls were daughters of native-born white parents who had had little contact with racial groups other than their own. One of our groups received instruction in the form of eight illustrated travel talks with materials selected from the *National Geographic Magazine*, *Lands and Peoples*, and books dealing with the various races. The Negro was discussed mainly in the light of the achievement of prominent members of the race with pictures of Negro leaders available in *Who's Who in Colored America* and similar publications. The pictures were shown with an opaque projector and a translucent screen in a semidarkened room. The pupils were asked to make note of items about the



racess that served to change their opinion of the race in question for better or for worse.

The other group received as nearly as possible the same topics and descriptions of the same conditions of home life, etc., except that pictures were not shown. Tests were given again after twelve weeks. The results follow:

TABLE VI  
ATTITUDE CHANGES IN NINTH-GRADE GIRLS

Test	Mean Gain, Visual-Aid Group	Mean Gain, Non- Visual-Aid Group	Difference	S.E. of Difference	Chances True Difference Same Direction
Bogardus .....	-1.01	-.387	-.623	.197	1,300 to 1
Hinkley (Negro) ..	.316	.246	.07	.26	1.5 to 1
Neumann (International Attitudes) ..	-.208	-.262	.054	.11	2.2 to 1

On all three criteria the table shows appreciable gains by each group, both of which had received systematic instruction with the objective of making them more appreciative of races other than their own. These gains ranged from three to seven times their standard errors. The table also brings out the differential effect of the use of visual aids. The Bogardus Racial Distance Scale indicates a highly significant difference in gain in favor of the visual group, since the difference is more than three times its standard error. This difference is more clearly due to the controlled factors introduced into the experiment. The measurement of improvement of attitude towards the Negro shows a difference too small to be statistically significant, as is also true of measurement of growth in liberalism by the Neumann-Kulp-Davidson test. The former of these differences favors the visual group and the latter the control, since on both the Bogardus and the Neumann tests low scores lie in the direction of liberalism. These latter two tests lay somewhat aside from the main objectives of the experiment and were administered to measure certain possible concomitant liberal gains.

The experiment was repeated the second term with two sections of ninth-grade boys paired as in the preceding experiment. Due to matching difficulties (one small and one large section) and to absences, only fourteen pairs were

secured. But in this part of the study there was a certain modification of our procedure. Of twenty racial groups involved in the Bogardus scale (Armenians to Jews), the A section received instruction with pictures and the B section received the same instruction without pictures. On alternate days the B section received instruction on twenty groups (Jews to Welsh) and the A group the same instruction without pictures. In this experiment it was again found that both groups gained markedly in racial sympathies, the gain being more than ten times its standard error. It was also found, again, that both groups gained more on those themes on which visual aids were employed than on those on which they were not employed; the difference in favor of the visual aids was .96 times its standard error in the races A to J and 3.42 times its standard error in races J to W, involving chances of 5 to 1 in the former instance and 3,200 to 1 in the latter that the true difference is in favor of the visual aids.

An initial test on attitudes towards war by D. D. Droba (Form A) was compared with a final test (Form B) to investigate the assumption that liberal attitudes towards racial groups might have some effect upon their views of war as a method of solving international problems. The results for the two groups of boys involved in the second experiment show increasingly pacifistic attitudes by mean gains of seven per cent and eleven per cent of the mean scores of the initial test. Since both groups received visual aids, there is no opportunity to determine the relation of these to the gains.

Conclusions from the three experiments are:

1. The consistency with which our findings in these experiments point in the same direction amply confirms the thesis that international and interracial attitudes can be influenced by instruction governed by this objective, as far as the type of tests used in these experiments validly measure such development.
2. Visual aids seem to add appreciably to the effectiveness of education for international and interracial liberalism.
3. Gains in the function made the center of attention in the teaching are greater than those in the margin of attention, though some spread of liberalism in directions related to the central objective is indicated.

# THE TEACHING OF COURTESY IN THE JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL

ALICE K. MILSOM

Because of lack of space only a single page can be allotted to this investigation. A fuller account will appear later in *The Pennsylvania School Journal*.

This study investigated the effect of the systematic teaching of ideals and techniques of courtesy in the junior high school of a Pennsylvania village. Courtesy was treated fundamentally as kindness; it was defined for the pupils by the nursery rhyme:

Politeness is to do and say  
The kindest thing in the kindest way.

Subjects were paired on scholastic marks. The teaching program on courtesy lasted three months. Initial and final measurements were taken in terms of ratings of pupils by one another. There was also a "delayed" measurement, three months after the close of the period of instruction. The following table summarizes the findings:

TABLE VII										
COMPARATIVE GAINS IN COURTESY RATINGS BY THREE GROUPS OF INSTRUCTED AND UNINSTRUCTED PUPILS										
Grade	Number	Experimental			Control			Mean Gain	Difference	S. E. of Difference
		Mean Initial Rating	Mean Final Rating	Mean Gain	Mean Initial Rating	Mean Final Rating	Mean Gain			
<i>Immediate</i>										
7th	20	3.28	3.30	.02	3.55	3.23	— .32	.34	.23	
8th	16	3.00	3.04	.04	3.27	3.28	.01	.03	.03	
9th	22	3.36	3.82	.46	3.67	3.49	— .18	.64	.13	
<i>Delayed</i>										
7th	20	3.28	3.34	.06	3.55	3.69	.14	— .08	.20	
8th	16	3.00	3.25	.25	3.27	3.39	.12	.13	.22	
9th	22	3.36	3.58	.22	3.67	3.44	— .23	.45	.14	

The table shows that the instructed group exceeded the uninstructed in gains in all three grades on the test at the close of the period of instruction and that these advantages were still prevailingly held at the period of delayed measurement, but by a somewhat reduced differential.

## WORKBOOK VERSUS ORAL INSTRUCTION

ELMER W. CRESSMAN

The purpose of the experiment was to determine whether or not character, or at least moral knowledge, could be improved by presenting to junior-high-school pupils life situations upon which they were called to pass judgment. It was further attempted to measure the relative gains made when the situations were presented in printed workbook form requiring written answers, against presenting the same situations orally by the teacher, the class responding in general discussion. Instruction by means of the workbook and oral presentation methods were in turn to be measured against the gains made by those having no direct moral instruction at all.

The work was carried on in the seventh grade of a large junior high school. The workbook selected was *What's the Right Thing to Do?* by W. W. Charters, Mabel F. Rice, and E. W. Beck, published by The Macmillan Company, 1931. This is the book assigned to the seventh grade in a series of workbooks called "Conduct Problems."

The selected workbook presents thirty-two well-chosen, lifelike conduct situations in a readable, interesting fashion. The pupil is confronted by a series of facts. Upon these he forms an opinion and makes a judgment. He determines for himself what he considers the right thing to do under the circumstances. The printed materials do not attempt to moralize. A series of printed questions calls the attention of the student to the various angles from which the problem may be viewed as well as giving the opportunity for a written reaction from every pupil. Only seventeen cases were presented, because this material became the subject for formal instruction in the forty-minute guidance period, one period per week for one term.

It was necessary to organize three matched sections of pupils. One group was to receive moral instruction by way of the workbook; the second group was to have the same cases presented orally by the teacher; and the third

was to serve as a control group. For purposes of matching and measuring gains, two tests and the I.Q.'s were used. Charters's workbook begins and ends with a summary statement of twenty situations. These he calls preview cases. To the twenty cases were added eleven more, so that each case to be used later for instruction would have at least one presentation in test-question form. When the preview cases were arranged in multiple-choice test form, they constituted a preview test which should have been useful in finding where the individuals stood in relation to the selected situations.

One sample of the added cases will give some idea of the nature of the test:

22. The law provides that children under 16 years of age may not operate a motor car. If you were 15 years of age and knew how to drive a car, check the statement which tells what you would do.

- ( ) Would not drive because it is against the law
- ( ) Would not drive because it is dangerous for children to drive
- ( ) Would take a chance in case of an emergency
- ( ) Would drive at any time because it is difficult to distinguish between a 15-year-old and a 16-year-old child

A standardized test of a more general nature was also desired. The Good Citizenship Test, developed in connection with the Character Education Inquiry and published by the Associated Press, claimed to test moral knowledge with a reliability of .835. The validity was not estimated.

The two above mentioned tests were administered to 320 seventh-grade pupils for whom I.Q.'s were available. These three elements constituted the basis for matching. In the Preview Test, each case scored one with a total possible score of 31. The Good Citizenship Test is made up of fifty elements each of which scores two with a total of one hundred. For purposes of matching, it was desirable to have the three scores combined into a single score. It would have been impossible to get forty-seven sets of triplets, identical in all three scores. The essential feature of any scheme of combining scores is that the variabilities of the component sets of scores shall be ap-

proximately equal, since the greater the variability of a set of scores the higher its weighting becomes in the combination. To make the variabilities equal, it is necessary to prepare the scores for averaging by multiplying the scores in all sets, except one, by some factor.

The standard deviations of our tests were: Good Citizenship, 10; I.Q.'s, 11.7; Preview Test, 2.9. When roughly compared, the S.D. of the Good Citizenship Test and that of the intelligence quotients are about equal while the Preview Test has an S.D. about one fourth as great. We wished to give the Good Citizenship Test double weight because we considered it to be the most promising of the measuring elements. A learning score was, therefore, obtained for each pupil by summing four times his Preview Test score, twice his Good Citizenship Test score, and once his intelligence-quotient score.

From the 320 pupils tested, 141 were selected and matched into triplets on the basis of these composite learning scores, each set having the same average composite score. One of the triplets was assigned to the workbook group, another to the oral-instruction group, and the third to the control group. At the close of the experiment, 111 pupils, or 37 sets of triplets, remained in the experiment.

The authors of the Good Citizenship Test report a correlation of it with I.Q.'s,  $r$  equal to .614. The 320 cases used in this experiment gave this  $r$  equal to .38. The Preview Test correlates with the I.Q. .09.

Section A worked not more than one period each week upon each case in the workbook. The teacher distributed the work sheets and the pupils responded in writing without comment. It was necessary from time to time to give individual assistance with the reading of the materials. Section B was more interesting to watch. The teacher presented the conduct situation to the pupils in as stimulating a way as possible. The students responded with lively discussions as to what they would have done had they been confronted by the same conditions. Sometimes the arguments became heated. Following the lead of the ques-

tions printed in the workbook, the teacher led the discussion along the various angles. The discussion was never prolonged or forced. If less than a period was necessary to complete the lesson with either section, the work was allowed to end naturally.

When the seventeen lessons had been completed, the students remaining in the experiment were again given the Preview and Good Citizenship Tests in order that the individual and class gains might be measured. The Preview Test, being based upon the material used for purposes of instruction, was expected to test how well the pupils learned their lessons. The following summary table shows the mean scores for each group.

TABLE VIII  
COMPARATIVE GAINS BY THREE GROUPS ON TWO CRITERIA

	1 Workbook	2 Oral	3 Control	Differ- ence 1-3	Differ- ence 2-3	Differ- ence 1-2
<i>A. Preview Test</i>						
Mean initial score.....	20.08	17.64	19.06			
Mean final score.....	21.67	19.03	19.62			
Mean gain.....	1.49	1.66	.56	.93	1.10	-.17
S.E. of difference.....				.77	.72	.62
Chances true difference is in same direction.....				7 to 1	14 to 1	1.5 to 1
<i>B. Good Citizenship Test</i>						
Mean initial score.....	55.45	60.45	55.35			
Mean final score.....	68.00	63.35	59.70			
Mean gain.....	12.55	2.90	4.35	8.20	-1.40	9.65
S.E. of difference.....				1.84	2.3	1.47
Chances true difference is in same direction.....				"certain" 3 to 1	"certain"	

It will be observed that on the Preview Test both instructed groups exceeded the uninstructed in mean gains, and the workbook group exceeded the uninstructed in the Good Citizenship Test, but on this latter test the oral group fell a little below the control. On the Preview Test the workbook group dropped a mere trifle below the oral group while on the Good Citizenship Test the workbook exceeded the oral by a large margin, the difference being 6.56 times its standard error. While the findings are far from conclusive, the prevailing directions and the relative sizes of the differences suggest that instruction on moral problems contributes somewhat to the clarification of the moral concepts of junior-high-school pupils, and that the workbook method seems superior to the oral, particularly in getting transfers to materials different from those used in training.

# INDIVIDUALIZED METHOD AND CHARACTER EDUCATION

GRACE E. ALLEN

This investigation sought to discover the comparative effectiveness of the teaching of plane geometry by the individual and the recitation methods of instruction in actual subject-matter achievement and in the development of certain personality traits. It is more clearly defined by resolution into the following questions: What is the effect of differences in teaching method upon student ability and upon traits of character in a given academic subject? If two groups are taught by the same instructor, and equated for initial ability, one group being taught by the method of individual instruction and the other by the traditional classroom method, what differences in subject-matter achievement are apparent at the end of the course? What is the degree and direction of change in the two groups in these personality traits: neurotic tendency, introversion-extroversion, dominance-submission, self-sufficiency, honesty, prejudice, and mathematical interest?

The experiment was conducted with two groups of eleventh-grade students in the Senior High School of Altoona, Pennsylvania, during the entire school term of 1932-1933. Each group contained approximately seventy-five students, who were divided into smaller sections for the purpose of group meetings. These sections of each group, however, were treated in the same manner. No student had studied the subject before the beginning of this study and all were of average or superior intelligence.

In order to adapt these pupils to the purposes of this investigation one group was subjected to the study of plane geometry under the traditional classroom method, the other to the method of individual instruction. The two groups were equivalent in subject-matter prerequisites, used the same textbook, covered the same amount of subject matter, met in the same classroom, were measured by the same tests, guided by the same instructor, and every effort



was made to keep all factors constant with the exception of the experimental factor—the teaching method.

By the traditional classroom method is meant the procedure in which the class period is divided into several recommended sections: first, a *review* of the previous day's work under the direction of the teacher and usually taking the form of a test or drill, oral or written; second, the *recitation* by the students on the material that had been assigned them the previous day for outside preparation, consisting chiefly of board proofs, criticisms and discussion, questions and answers; third, the *advance* lesson, in which the group, with the instructor's guidance, is led to develop a relationship between the present discussion of the subject and a new hypothesis, thus leading into the fourth section or the *assignment* of the lesson to be prepared for the following day. Time remaining is given to *supervised study*.

The method of individual instruction implies the placement of the responsibility for learning on the individual. This technique demands self-instructive and self-corrective practice for each student in order that he may study each unit of subject matter with a minimum amount of help from his teacher and associates. For this purpose each student is supplied with mimeographed instruction sheets covering each unit of work. These were composed by the instructor in accordance with the text and six standardized unit tests were used. The student was permitted to meet the requirements set forth in these sheets at his own rate, with the exception that a time limit was set for each unit of work in order to ensure adequate completion of the course. When a section of work was completed to the satisfaction of the student, he was required to pass an objective test over the material included. Failure to pass this test prohibited the student's going forward until remedial practice corrected his errors and made it possible for him to pass an equivalent test. The classroom was a laboratory. The students enjoyed "freedom in work." The instructor was accessible for conference and guidance at all times. A class demonstration or discussion was resorted to only when desired by the group.

A recent textbook, *Modern Course in Plane Geometry*, by Strader and Rhoads, provided the core of subject-matter requirement. The Lane-Green Unit Achievement Tests in Plane Geometry were used to measure subject-matter achievement by units. Two equivalent forms of this test were available, the second form being used when a retest was required. The 1932 form of the Coöperative Plane Geometry Test was used to measure final achievement. Ability in geometry was measured by the Rogers Test for Mathematical Ability—geometry section. The intelligence test used was the Terman Group Test of Mental Ability.

The number and kind of personality traits considered in this study was limited, largely because of the paucity of tests for such measures. Some personality traits which undoubtedly are affected by the individual method of instruction could not be measured because of the lack of testing materials. In some cases, however, there were several tests of a particular trait from which to choose and in those instances consideration was given to these features of the tests: usefulness, reliability, ease of administering, objectivity in scoring, validity, content for inclusiveness, and authorship.

The Bernreuter Personality Inventory measures several aspects of personality: neurotic tendency, self-sufficiency, dominance-submission, and introversion-extroversion. The reliability of the test is .86 and the validity .84.

The Self-Marking Test by Julius B. Maller measures the amount of deception an individual will express when opportunity for deception is given. The reliability of this test as given by the author is, by the Spearman-Brown formula, .92.

The Strong Vocational Interest Blank measures interest in many vocations. The measure of mathematical interest was applied in this study. In using the "odds versus evens" technique twelve coefficients of reliability for this test have been found which average approximately .80.

The Watson Test of Public Opinion measures objectively the tendency of any individual to manifest prejudice

and to measure the amount of that deviation from fair-mindedness. Its reliability is given as .96 and its correlation with criteria of validity as .85.

Pairing and matching were done separately for each personality trait tested and the different measures of achievement. Since there were approximately seventy-five students in each group, it was possible to match up fifty pairs for each measure under consideration with initial score disparities between members of the same pair so small, comparatively, as to be negligible. The bases for pairing were: (1) to measure achievement, initial scores of the achievement test used, intelligence quotients, and initial scores on the test of mathematical ability; (2) to measure personality traits, the initial scores in the respective tests.

The following table is a summary showing the comparison of the mean gains for the control and experimental group in achievement and in all the personality traits tested. In the first column is listed the trait tested; in the second column, the mean gain in the control group; in the third column, the mean gain in the experimental group. The difference between the mean gains is found in the fourth column. In column five the standard error of the difference between the mean gains is given, followed in column six by the ratio of the difference between the mean gains to the standard error of the difference, thus providing in the last column the chances that the true difference is on the same side.

TABLE IX  
COMPARISON OF MEAN GAINS FOR THE CONTROL VERSUS THE EXPERIMENTAL GROUP IN ALL MEASURES

Trait Tested	Mean Gain Control Group	Mean Gain Experimental Group	Difference in Mean Gain	S. E. of Diff.	Ratio	Chances
1. Achievement <sup>1</sup> .....	37.48	44.60	7.12	2.10	3.39	2900 to 1
2. Achievement <sup>2</sup> .....	37.40	42.78	5.38	2.62	2.05	48.5 to 1
3. Achievement <sup>3</sup> .....	37.86	45.52	7.66	3.49	2.19	69.1 to 1
4. Ability in plane geometry....	8.24	10.58	2.34	.744	3.16	1225 to 1
5. Neurotic tendency.....	11.60	2.01	-9.59	9.06	.836	4 to 1
6. Introversion-extroversion....	6.6	5.2	-1.4	5.33	.26	1.5 to 1
7. Dominance-submission.....	21.7	12.78	-8.92	7.53	1.18	7.4 to 1
8. Self-sufficiency.....	11.24	12.92	1.68	7.11	.236	1.5 to 1
9. Honesty.....	-1.14	-1.92	-.78	.712	1.09	6.4 to 1
10. Prejudice.....	-8.1	-11.32	-3.22	6.49	.496	2.2 to 1
11. Interest.....	-71.5	-90.3	-18.8	22.77	.825	1 to 3.9

<sup>1</sup>Pairing based on initial scores in Achievement Test

<sup>2</sup>Pairing based on Intelligence quotient

<sup>3</sup>Pairing based on initial scores on Test of Mathematical Ability

This study shows that the group that was taught by the individual method was definitely superior to the group taught by the traditional recitation method in academic achievement. It also shows that changes did take place in certain personality traits of the pupils between the beginning and end of the course. In the experimental group the changes in personality traits when compared with the control group took the direction in favor of less neurotic tendency (more emotional stability), less introversion (more extroversion), less dominance (more submission), more self-sufficiency, less deception (more honesty), less prejudice (more broad-mindedness), and less mathematical interest.

In only one case can it definitely be said that the change was undesirable with respect to the experimental group; that is, in the measure of mathematical interest. In the case of academic achievement the differences are large enough as compared with their standard errors to carry good statistical significance. In all the other cases the reliabilities are low considered individually, but the fact that they point so largely in the same direction adds greatly to their *significance*.

It is obvious that the experimental ratios are consistently smaller for the incidental learnings than for the actual subject-matter achievement. This result is consistent with psychological belief, according to which the amount of improvement in a capacity trained is probably never accompanied by an equal amount of improvement in other capacities, which varies according as these compare with the one specifically trained. However, the results seem to justify the attention of educators to the new method of instruction, not only as a means of obtaining better results in academic achievement, but also in producing desirable changes in personality traits.

# THE RESULTS OF THE INCIDENTAL METHOD OF INSTRUCTION IN CHARACTER EDUCATION

F. R. KNISS, E. K. ROBB, AND E. A. GLATFELTER

For the purpose of determining the results of the use of the incidental method of instruction in character education, controlled experiments were set up in three Pennsylvania senior and junior high schools in connection with various courses of study.

## I

At Madera a study was undertaken to determine whether character could be taught incidentally in the instruction of the tenth-grade course in history (Kniss). The experiment was started in October 1932 and extended until May 1933. The socio-economic status of the pupils was secured by the use of the Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status, and the mental age was determined by the use of the Otis Self-Administering Test of Mental Ability. Two sections of the tenth grade were selected for the experiment. The pupils were matched on the basis of mental age and socio-economic status. Eighteen matched pairs were available for the experiment. All character instruction was incidental and led directly from the study of tenth-grade history.

The results of the experiment were measured by the use of two tests: (1) Baker, Telling What I Do, and (2) a test devised by the instructor. Both tests set up certain life situations to which the pupil has three possible responses. The Baker test consists of eighty situations and the instructor's test of twenty. These tests were used at the beginning and at the end of the experiment. The same instructor was in charge of both sections.

The results of the experiment as secured from the tests used for the pupils included in the experiment favored the control group, as shown in the table on page 260.

TABLE X

STATISTICAL RESULTS OF THE DATA SECURED FROM THE USE OF TESTS

<i>Tests</i>	<i>Difference in Means</i>	<i>S. E. of Difference</i>	<i>Ratio of Difference to S. E. of Difference</i>	<i>Chances That True Difference Is in Same Direction</i>
Baker test .....	-2.1	4.4	.47	2.1 to 1
Teacher test .....	-2.6	1.4	1.85	30.1 to 1

It is therefore concluded that, in so far as these groups are concerned, the incidental instruction had no beneficial effect upon the experimental group as measured by the tests used. No pupil or teacher ratings were made.

## II

A study was made of the value of incidental instruction for character building on the junior-high-school level at Bedford, Pennsylvania (Robb). A controlled experiment was set up in the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. The pupils were matched upon the basis of their intelligence quotients as determined by the Otis Group Intelligence Scale, and their socio-economic status as determined by the Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status. One control and one experimental group were provided for each grade.

In the control groups the work in each subject proceeded according to the regularly prescribed courses of study. In the experimental group the work proceeded in much the same manner, with the exception that frequent reference was made whenever possible in the class procedure and discussion to something concerned with character. Every effort was made to stimulate this discussion extemporaneously so as to avoid giving the pupils in the experimental group the impression that a prepared program in moral education was in progress. Such traits as industry, courtesy, usefulness, obedience, service, loyalty, patriotism, truthfulness, sportsmanship, honesty, tolerance, world-mindedness, and citizenship were stressed in each class when an opportunity was presented.

As a means of measuring the results of the experiment, a series of tests was used, as well as ratings secured from teachers and pupils. Special permission was secured from D. C. Heath and Company for the reproduction and use

of the discrimination tests included in Fishback and Kirkpatrick—*Conduct Problems for Junior High School Grades*. The Good Citizenship Test developed in connection with the Character Education Inquiry was also used for measuring the moral knowledge and ethical discrimination of the pupils. The pupil ratings in the junior high school were made by the use of the Character Education Inquiry Guess Who Test, and the teacher ratings by the use of the Character Education Inquiry Conduct Record Sheet. All of the tests and the pupil and teacher ratings were used in both control and experimental groups at the beginning and at the end of the experiment.

The results of the Bedford experiment are shown in the following table:

TABLE XI  
COMPARATIVE ATTAINMENTS OF THE EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL  
GROUPS ON NINE CRITERIA

Tests	Grade	Difference in Means	S. E. of Difference	Chances to 1 That the True Difference is on the Side of:	
				Control Group	Experi- mental Group
Discrimination I .....	7	— .85	.943	4.4	....
Discrimination II .....	7	— .15	.714	1.4	....
Discrimination III ....	7	—1.85	1.019	26.8	....
Discrimination IB ....	7	— .65	.6	6.3	....
Discrimination IIB ...	7	.05	.836	....	1.12
Good citizenship .....	7	— .70	3.31	1.4	....
Discrimination I .....	8	.55	.728	....	3.4
Discrimination II .....	8	1.60	.889	....	26.8
Discrimination III ....	8	— .10	.616	1.32	....
Discrimination IB ....	8	.40	.574	....	3.1
Discrimination IIB ...	8	1.40	.793	....	24.0
Good citizenship .....	8	5.15	2.06	....	160.0
Discrimination I .....	9	.25	.331	....	3.4
Discrimination II .....	9	— .58	.583	5.2	....
Discrimination III ....	9	— .54	.556	5.0	....
Discrimination IB ....	9	— .39	.436	4.4	....
Discrimination IIB ...	9	— .75	.721	5.7	....
Good citizenship .....	9	— .11	2.21	1.1	....
Teacher rating .....	7	1.50	1.49	....	5.3
Teacher rating .....	8	3.05	2.15	....	11.5
Teacher rating .....	9	.57	1.59	....	1.8
Pupil rating .....	7	.15	.244	....	2.6
Pupil rating .....	8	.15	.3	....	2.2
Pupil rating .....	9	.05	.244	....	1.4

From the table on page 261 we find that the differences in the tests slightly favored the control groups in the seventh and ninth grades. In the eighth grade the differences as measured by the tests used favored the experimental group. The teacher and pupil rating in all grades of the experiment favored the experimental groups.

Since the value of character education is in its expression in the actions of the individual, the ratings on conduct are more valid measures than those on information or judgment. It is planned to remeasure the results of this experiment at the end of a year after the experiment is completed.

In the scoring of the tests used for measuring the moral knowledge and ethical discrimination it was found that the pupils already had a very acceptable amount of moral knowledge at the beginning of the experiment, which may have affected the results as far as these tests were concerned.

### III

The York experiment (Glatfelter) is still in progress, so that only preliminary findings are reported in this article. It involves nearly five hundred pupils in grades seven, eight, and nine of the Hannah Penn Junior High School. The pupils were matched for experimental and control sections on the basis of intelligence quotients, since these are known to correlate reasonably highly with desirable moral traits. The experimental factor consisted of incidental moral instruction similar to that described for the two preceding experiments. Attainment was measured by change in average ratings by pupils, and in average ratings by teachers, between the beginning and the middle of the year, and again between the middle and the end of the year. Forty-three teachers and five hundred pupils contributed towards the ratings. The ratings were secured on five character traits: coöperation, courtesy, industry, loyalty, and dependability. Ratings were taken on these traits one at a time, each on a separate day, and each trait was carefully defined for the raters.



So far the results have been worked up only for differences between first and second ratings. When the experiment is completed changes will be measured to at least a third and a fourth period. Of eight pairs of groups (boys and girls considered separately for grades 7B, 7A, 8B, and 9B rated by both teachers and pupils), the differences favored the experimental groups in seven and the control groups in nine in the trait of coöperation. In courtesy, eight differences favored the experimental and eight the control. In industry, nine favored the experimental groups and seven the control. In loyalty, nine favored the experimental and seven the control groups, and in dependability four favored the experimental groups and twelve the control groups. There is, therefore, nearly an equal division of the honors between the experimental and the control groups. This is not due to unreliability of the measuring instruments since, as indirect evidence of reliability, the scores on the several traits intercorrelated, though taken on different days, from .86 to .90 in the teacher ratings and from .89 to .93 in the pupil ratings. That it cannot be charged to lack of validity of the measuring instrument is suggested by the fact that the averages of the pupils' ratings for individual students correlated with the averages of teachers' ratings from .876 to .906 when corrected for attenuation. The failure to secure differential advantages for the instructed groups seems chargeable only to lack of functioning value in the experimental factor.

From this trio of experiments it seems clear that incidental instruction in morals is ineffectual in improving moral judgment and in furthering moral conduct.

## THE EFFECT OF ATHLETICS ON CERTAIN CHARACTER STUDIES

J. L. HACKENBERG, E. B. YEICH, AND L. A. WEISENFLUH

It has been a debatable question in the minds of many administrators as to whether athletics, as conducted in most secondary schools, do really contribute anything worth while to scholarship and character traits. A number of experiments have been made to see how athletic activities are related to scholarship, but very little has been done to see whether they contribute anything to character traits.

Three controlled experiments have been conducted during the past year, by the authors of this article, to get experimental evidence on this matter. These experiments are along the same general line, but differ in details. So we shall give a brief account of each experiment separately and then draw our conclusions from a composite of all three.

The first of these was conducted in the high school of Sandy Township, DuBois, Pennsylvania, by Mr. Hackenberg. The object was to ascertain whether organized athletics, as conducted in that school system, really contributed anything to certain character traits. The study of progress continued during the entire school year. The main sports in this school are football, basketball, and track.

In our school the student body may be divided into three groups or classes: those pupils who take active part in athletic contests between our school and other schools; those pupils who have no active participation in athletics but are interested in the sports, attend all games and all kinds of athletic meetings; and those pupils who do not participate in any athletics or do not attend any meetings of any kind; in fact, they are rather antagonistic to athletics.

We set up two parallel group experiments. We shall name the group that took active part, Group I; the group that took no active part, but was interested, Group IA; and the group that neither took an active part nor was interested, Group IB. The first experiment compared

Group I with Group IA and the second Group I with Group IB. We used forty cases in each group.

Members of the groups were paired on the following bases: mental age, achievement scores of the previous year, initial status of the pupils, curriculum followed in high school, sex, grades in school, and location in district. Only pupils of grades nine and ten were used in the study.

Six different tests, taken from the Character Education Inquiry battery of tests were employed to measure comparative growth: the Good Citizenship Test, the Information Test, information part of Self-Scoring Intelligence and Achievement Tests, O'Reilly's Character Analysis Chart, and the New York Rating Scale for School Habits.

We attempted to measure the following character traits: honesty, which we measured in the light of testing for truthfulness, whether the pupil is willing to accept deserved blame or whether he tries to lay the blame on some one else; citizenship, which we measured in the light of the pupil's ability to adapt himself into society; obedience, which we measured in the light of the pupil's ability and willingness to abide by the regulations of society; sportsmanship, which we measured in the light of the pupil's willingness to play fair in all things. Furthermore, we wished to find out whether athletics would help the participant to make worthy use of his leisure time.

We administered the three Character Education Inquiry tests to the entire school at the beginning of the term. We had the pupils rate themselves on the O'Reilly Character Analysis Chart and had the teachers rate the pupils in their respective homerooms on the New York Rating Scale for School Habits during the first week of school. These results were tabulated and recorded in the office of the superintendent. From then on the program was entirely forgotten, as far as the teachers and pupils were concerned, until almost the end of the school term. Then the same tests, or different forms of the same tests, were again administered under the same conditions as the initial tests, and again pupil and teacher ratings were made. These

results were then tabulated and compared with the initial scores and ratings. We then proceeded to work up our results statistically. A summarized statement follows:

TABLE XII  
COMPARATIVE GROWTH DURING ONE SCHOOL YEAR OF THREE GROUPS ON  
TWO CRITERIA

A. GOOD CITIZENSHIP TEST			
	<i>Initial Test</i>	<i>Final Test</i>	
	<i>Scores</i>	<i>Scores</i>	<i>Gain</i>
Group I: Averages.....	34.65	36.20	1.55
S.D. ....	5.06	5.03	
Group IA: Averages.....	34.37	34.97	.60
S.D. ....	4.02	5.47	
Group IB: Averages.....	34.37	35.27	.90
S.D. ....	4.07	6.15	
	<i>Group I over IA</i>	<i>Group I over IB</i>	
Difference between mean gains....	.95	.65	
S.E. of the difference.....	.6952	.2528	
Ratio of difference gain to its S.E..	1.36	2.54	
Chances of true difference in same direction .....	10 to 1	184 to 1	
B. INFORMATION TEST RESULTS			
	<i>Initial Test</i>	<i>Final Test</i>	
	<i>Scores</i>	<i>Scores</i>	<i>Gain</i>
Group I: Averages.....	142.17	144.62	2.45
S.D. ....	2.47	2.56	
Group IA: Averages.....	141.75	141.92	.17
S.D. ....	2.34	2.54	
Group IB: Averages.....	141.52	141.75	.23
S.D. ....	2.47	2.71	
	<i>Group I over IA</i>	<i>Group I over IB</i>	
Difference between mean gains....	2.28	2.22	
S.E. of difference.....	.5056	.4424	
Ratio of difference gain to its S.E..	4.51	5.0	
Chances of a true difference in same direction .....	308,500 to 1	3,488,000 to 1	

The Self-Scoring Intelligence and Achievement Test was used as a measure of the pupils' honesty. We find that in the initial test the experimental group had three cases where dishonesty was shown and in the final test two of these cases disappeared and only one remained. But in the control groups the same number of cases of dishonesty appeared in the final test as in the initial test.

On the self-ratings of the O'Reilly Character Analysis Chart the athletic group made a mean increase in score between initial and final rating of 1.7. Group IA made an increase of .46 and Group IB an increase of .08. Thus the athletic group excelled one of the nonathletic groups by 1.24 and the other by 1.62. The standard errors of these differences are, respectively, .503 and .472.

The teacher ratings on the New York Rating Scale for School Habits did not lend themselves to a quantitative evaluation comparable with the other tests. Of Group I, fourteen members increased their rating within the experimental period, five decreased their ratings, and 21 remained unchanged; of Group IA eight increased in rating, five decreased, and 27 remained the same; while of Group IB nine increased their ratings, six decreased theirs, and 25 remained unchanged. Thus in both types of ratings the athletic groups improved slightly more than either of the nonathletic groups.

In the West Reading Experiment (Yeich) twenty athletes were matched with as many nonathletes in respect to sex, grade, and intelligence, an athlete being defined as "a member of an athletic squad who participates in all practices and is present as a probable or actual participant at all games of his chosen sport." Scores for four character traits were obtained from teacher ratings. In three of these traits the mean of the athletic group exceeded that of the nonathletic, as shown in the following table:

TABLE XIII  
MEAN RATINGS OF ATHLETES AND MATCHED NONATHLETES IN FOUR CHARACTER TRAITS AT WEST READING HIGH SCHOOL

	<i>Fellowship</i>		<i>Followership</i>		<i>Obedience</i>		<i>Honesty</i>	
	<i>Athletes</i>	<i>Non-athletes</i>	<i>Athletes</i>	<i>Non-athletes</i>	<i>Athletes</i>	<i>Non-athletes</i>	<i>Athletes</i>	<i>Non-athletes</i>
Mean.....	2.35	2.22	2.39	2.34	2.34	2.50	2.58	2.52
Difference.....	.09		.05			.16	.06	
S.E. diff.....	.11		.10			.12	.09	
Ratio.....	.8		.5			1.33	.07	
Chances.....	4 to 1		2.3 to 1		10 to 1		1.1 to 1	

As a guide to the teachers in ratings, the four traits involved in the study were defined as follows:

1. Fellowship—recognizes and extols the good qualities of others and is tactful and kind regarding the faults of others

2. Followership—sacrifices self for the sake of the task and co-operates cheerfully for the good of the group

3. Obedience—abides by the regulations of the school and recognizes authority whether teachers or pupils are in charge

4. Honesty—plays fair and accepts deserved blame

The Old Forge High School experiment (Weisenfluh) was conducted in the same manner as that of West Reading. Fourteen pairs of pupils were involved. The athletes were found to exceed the nonathletes in only one of the four character traits—honesty—while the nonathletes exceeded in the other three. But the ratios of the differences to their standard errors ranged from only .41 to .67. In none of the three studies were the differences between the two types of students in academic achievement found to be significant.

Thus, out of the eight possible comparisons with respect to contributions to character traits in the West Reading and the Old Forge experiments as rated by teachers, four were in favor of the athletic groups and four in favor of the nonathletic. As far as these two trials are concerned, therefore, we get no evidence that participation in athletics favors the development of these traits more than non-participation. But the Sandy Township experiment showed some net advantage to the athletic groups where certain objective tests were employed. And it is worthy of note that in this experiment changes during the year rather than status were considered and, since only pupils in grades nine and ten were used, development was caught at the beginning of the growth curve where changes, if there were any, would have the best opportunity to show themselves. In Sandy Township it is the practice of the coach to make the development of character a deliberate objective of his training, as it is also to some degree at West Reading. So that, all in all, this trio of experiments suggests the mere possibility that athletics may be made to contribute slightly to the development of character traits. But it also suggests that the contribution is much smaller than it is often alleged to be.

## SUMMARY OF THE PENN STATE EXPERIMENTS ON THE INFLUENCE OF INSTRUCTION IN CHARACTER EDUCATION

CHARLES C. PETERS

In the series of experiments described in this issue of THE JOURNAL, 180 measured comparisons of experimental and control groups were made. But these were in terms of very different measurements with quite unlike units, so that they are not readily comparable. In order to bring them together into a single form so that we may draw inferences from the whole set, we shall reduce all differences to terms of "standard scores" by dividing each difference between means by the standard deviation of the two paired arrays combined. That will put all differences in terms of a single unit, called  $z$ . Twenty of our 180 experimental contrasts either had to do with effects on scholarship or were of a sort not reducible to  $z$  scores, so that we shall not include them in this summary. Eighty additional ones are from Mr. Glatfelter's experiment which is now only partially completed. For the sake of economizing space we shall merely indicate the distribution of these as to sign. They confirm the evidence given by the other twenty-six relating to incidental instruction in showing that such instruction is ineffectual in measurably modifying conduct. The other eighty contrasts we list in the summary table below, grouping them under headings according to whether the instruction was systematic and centered on a specific theme, whether it was incidental, or whether the conduct outcomes accrued collaterally from academic courses or other activities. The plus values (indicated by the absence of a sign) mean that the advantage favored the moral instruction while the negative signs mean that the advantage lay on the opposite side. Consistently signed differences under a section show for the set a highly reliable advantage in the direction indicated;

inconsistently signed differences (that is, those with nearly an even number in each direction) suggest little or no true advantage.

TABLE XIV  
DIFFERENCES IN STANDARD UNITS BETWEEN MEAN MEASURES OF GROWTH IN CHARACTER OF  
EXPERIMENTAL AND CONTROL GROUPS

Experimenter	Grade Level	Theme	Nature of Measure	Number of Pairs	$M_e - M_c$ $\sigma$
I. SYSTEMATIC INSTRUCTION					
Millsom	7	courtesy	pupil ratings	20	.47
Millsom	8	courtesy	pupil ratings	16	.04
Millsom	9	courtesy	pupil ratings	22	1.12
Eichler	9	social leadership	pupil ratings	20	.15
Eichler	12	social leadership	pupil ratings	22	.14
Merrill	10	social leadership	pupil ratings	36	.33
Robb	12	philosophy of life	verbal	26	.40
Robb	12	philosophy of life	pupil ratings	26	.05
Robb	12	philosophy of life	teacher ratings	26	.63
Faust	9	moral problems	self-rating	26	— .24
Faust	9	moral problems	verbal	26	— .16
Faust	9	moral problems	verbal	26	.15
Faust	9	moral problems	verbal	26	.51
Faust	9	moral problems	self-rating	26	.41
Campbell	10-12	attitude—Germans	Thurstone scale	40	.03
Campbell	10-12	attitude—war	Thurstone scale	40	.34
Campbell	10-12	attitude—Chinese	Thurstone scale	40	— .02
Campbell	10-12	international attitude	verbal test	40	.33
Stover	9	international attitude	verbal test	24	.58
Stover	9	international attitude	verbal test	24	.85
Stover	9	attitude—Negro	Thurstone scale	24	.46
Stover	9	attitude—Negro	Thurstone scale	24	.21
Stover	9	racial attitudes	Bogardus scale	24	1.48
Stover	9	racial attitudes	Bogardus scale	24	.55
Stover	9	racial attitudes	Bogardus scale	28	.75
Stover	9	attitude—war	Thurstone scale	28	.64
Cresman	7	moral problems	verbal	37	.34
Cresman	7	moral problems	verbal	37	.30
Cresman	7	moral problems	verbal	37	.68
Cresman	7	moral problems	verbal	37	— .13
II. INCIDENTAL INSTRUCTION					
Knies	10	morality	tell what I do	18	— .28
Knies	10	morality	verbal	18	— .87
Robb	7	morality	verbal	20	— .30
Robb	7	morality	verbal	20	— .06
Robb	7	morality	verbal	20	— .65
Robb	7	morality	verbal	20	— .33
Robb	7	morality	verbal	20	.02
Robb	7	morality	verbal	20	— .07
Robb	7	morality	teacher ratings	20	.29
Robb	7	morality	guess who	20	.17
Robb	8	morality	verbal	20	.23
Robb	8	morality	verbal	20	.49
Robb	8	morality	verbal	20	— .06
Robb	8	morality	verbal	20	.20
Robb	8	morality	verbal	20	.62
Robb	8	morality	verbal	20	.63
Robb	8	morality	teacher ratings	20	.42
Robb	8	morality	guess who	20	.19
Robb	9	morality	verbal	28	.14
Robb	9	morality	verbal	28	— .26
Robb	9	morality	verbal	28	— .28
Robb	9	morality	verbal	28	— .23
Robb	9	morality	verbal	28	— .32
Robb	9	morality	verbal	28	— .01
Robb	9	morality	teacher ratings	28	.11
Robb	9	morality	guess who	28	.06
Glatfelter	7-9	morality	teacher and pupil ratings	80 trials, 37 positive and 43 negative	
III. COLLATERAL CONDUCT OUTCOMES					
1. Latin with character-training objectives					
Meek	10	citizenship	verbal	20	.47
Meek	10	antipathy to war	Thurstone scale	20	.59
Meek	10	international attitude	verbal	20	.87



## 2. Geometry by individualized method

Allen	11	emotional stability	verbal	50	.16
Allen	11	extroversion	verbal	50	.05
Allen	11	submission	verbal	50	.23
Allen	11	self-sufficiency	verbal	50	.05
Allen	11	honesty	verbal	50	.17
Allen	11	fair-mindedness	verbal	50	.09
Allen	11	interest in mathematics	verbal	50	— .18

## 3. Athletics

Hackenberg	9-10	citizenship	verbal	40	.29
Hackenberg	9-10	citizenship	verbal	40	.22
Hackenberg	9-10	moral judgment	verbal	40	.62
Hackenberg	9-10	moral judgment	verbal	40	.61
Hackenberg	9-10	morality	self-rating	40	.66
Hackenberg	9-10	morality	self-rating	40	.71
Yeich	9-12	fellowship	teacher rating	21	.27
Yeich	9-12	followership	teacher rating	21	.17
Yeich	9-12	obedience	teacher rating	21	— .47
Yeich	9-12	honesty	teacher rating	21	.19
Weisenfluh	9-12	fellowship	teacher rating	14	— .12
Weisenfluh	9-12	followership	teacher rating	14	— .12
Weisenfluh	9-12	obedience	teacher rating	14	— .02
Weisenfluh	9-12	honesty	teacher rating	14	— .21

An inspection of the table shows that 26 of the 30 differences under systematic instruction favored the experimental groups. The consistency with which these differences point in the same direction indicates high reliability for the finding that systematic moral instruction can aid in the development of character. But under incidental instruction 56 of the differences favored the control groups and 50 the experimental, about an equal division; therefore it is indicated that incidental moral instruction is ineffectual in modifying the sort of conduct we attempted to measure. That athletics can make desirable contributions towards character development is indicated with a low reliability, and that character traits can be made to accrue as by-products from certain methods of teaching academic subjects is strongly indicated.

But the differences are small even when positive, much smaller than optimists are in the habit of believing. In those types of procedures that yielded prevailingly positive differences the median one is about .4 of a standard deviation. I have determined, on the basis of reasonable assumptions which space does not permit explaining here, that a difference of .40 shows that the experimental factor, present in the one group and absent from the other, constitutes roughly ten per cent of the factors making for change in the criterion; a difference of one sigma, about twenty-four per cent determination; of two sigmas, forty

per cent; and of three or four sigmas, practically complete determination of the criterion. So it is suggested by our set of experiments that the sort of systematic moral instruction we attempted enabled us to control some ten per cent of the factors making for growth in character of the type measured within the period of the experiment. If we add to instruction drives towards desirable character through various other school processes, combining all of these into an optimum team, it is possible that we might extend this percentage, after allowing for overlapping, to perhaps twenty per cent or a little more. The other eighty per cent may be determined by factors outside our control.

It is obvious that the instruction in these experiments involved "indoctrination." Although the instructors invited free discussion and challenge of every suggestion, it remains true that the teachers themselves believed that certain ways are "better"; that kindness, courtesy, peace-loving, etc., are better than their opposites—and the weight of the teacher's own convictions would inevitably count heavily in influencing the conclusions at which the discussions arrived. The resulting mass of ideas and convictions about right and wrong will be tested through all the future experience of the pupils in competition with counter ones, which will be from time to time suggested from other sources. If the insights and ideals to which the investigators helped their students are sociologically sound ones, it may reasonably be expected that they will grow and ultimately prevail; if they are "unfit," they will be overwhelmed and eliminated in competition with those suggested by other experiences.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Child Psychology*, by BUFORD J. JOHNSON. Baltimore: Charles C. Thomas, 1932, 439 pages.

An excellent textbook on the psychology of early childhood following the more traditional organization of materials, but packed with fresh and interesting experimental data. An outstanding book in its field for courses attempting a systematic presentation of this developmental period.

*Development of Learning in Young Children*, by LOVISA C. WAGONER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, 322 pages.

A study of the psychology of learning as it applies to the acquiring of early habits in the preschool child. An excellent discussion of the child's first experiences with the requirements of the adult world, and of his reaction to those requirements, a stage in which the fundamental character pattern is laid down. One of the McGraw-Hill Euthenics Series.

*Interrelations in the Behavior of Young Children*, by RUTH E. ARRINGTON. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, 156 pages.

An experiment in the development of reliable techniques for the facilitation of normative studies of behavior, but including significant data on the development of the child's attitudes towards his physical and social development. One of the Child Development Monographs and like all of them based upon admirable experimental work.

*Motivation of Young Children*, by LUCILE CHASE. Iowa City: University of Iowa, 1933, 119 pages.

An experimental study of the influence of various types of external incentives upon the performance of a task. Discussion of other similar studies. Interesting discussion of experimental technique. Bibliography on motivation.

*Youth and Sex*, by MEYRICK BOOTH. New York: William Morrow and Company, 1933, 299 pages.

The relationship of sex to the problems of adolescent adjustment, with particular emphasis upon the changing pattern of our social life. Emphasis upon the relationship of the question to educational procedures.

*Our Movie Made Children*, by H. J. FORMAN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 288 pages.

A summary report of the influence of the motion picture upon the attitudes, values, and character of youth, based upon the research in this field sponsored by the Payne Fund and the Motion Picture Research Council. Individual studies to be published by the Macmillan Company.

*Motion Pictures and Youth: A Summary*, by W. W. CHARTERS, and *Getting Ideas from the Movies*, by P. W. HOLADAY and G. D. STODDARD. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 168 pages.

Combined within the covers of this volume are a summary statement of the purposes, methods, and scope of the Payne Fund studies, and the first report on the influence of movie experience upon the ideas of the child—an attempt to get at the ways in which and degree to which children learn from the movies.

*The Emotional Responses of Children to the Motion Picture Situation*, by W. S. DYSINGER, and *Motion Pictures and Standards of Morality*, by C. C. PETERS. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 403 pages.

Combined within the covers of this volume are two more of the Payne Fund studies. The first is a rather technical study of children's emotional reactions to motion-picture situations. The second will arouse widespread interest, not merely because of its study of the influence of the movie on children's moral standards, but also because of the study of our moral standards (made by a most ingenious method) against which the movie influence is evaluated.

*Children—Why Do We Have Them?* by DORA RUSSELL. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933, 287 pages.

A fresh, stimulating analysis of the parent-child relationship in the modern family, emphasizing the traditional attitudes that adults bring to family life, the satisfactions that they attempt to derive from it, the success that they have in deriving these satisfactions in the family of today, and the effect upon the child of this adult drama.

*The Family*, by KATHERINE D. LUMPKIN. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933, 184 pages.

An unusually keen analysis of the social pattern of the modern American family. Particularly interesting is the analysis of the rôles the various members of the family adopt and the sources of the attitudes that determine those rôles. An excellent statement of the sociological approach to family life. One of the University of North Carolina Social Study Series.

*Parents, Children and Money*, by SIDONIE M. and BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG. New York: Viking Press, 1933, 219 pages.

An interesting handbook for parents and teachers, dealing with the problems involved in introducing the child to the meaning and management of money. The first significant book in its field and an invaluable addition to any library on character education.

*Some Experiments in Living*, by PETER AINSLEE. New York: Association Press, 1933, 190 pages.

The author, a Protestant minister, has written an autobiography of selected experiences of his life. Although reminiscent in character, it presents an ardent plea for pacificism, international and interracial understanding, Christian unity, fidelity in marriage relationships, and a devout faith in God.

*Conflicts of Principle*, by ABBOTT LAWRENCE LOWELL. Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1932, 161 pages.

As the author states in the preface, "This little book contains no facts not perfectly well known to every one; and it avoids expression of opinion." It is an attempt to point out the proper limits between pairs of mutually contradictory principles. Through a series of short chapters, the author concisely reviews a series of conjugate principles in the fields of economics, politics, race, law, patriotism, education, personal conduct, mental patterns, and the teaching of Christ.

*Modern Tendencies in World Religions*, by CHARLES SAMUEL BRADEN. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, xi+343 pages.

To those who have assumed that religion is purely static, the data on actual changes in religion during the present century which are clearly presented by the author will come as a challenge. The major religions of the world, exclusive of Christianity, are presented in the light of their recent tendencies.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Abstracts of Studies in Education at the Pennsylvania State College, Part III* (1933), Penn State Studies in Education, No. 8, edited by CHARLES C. PETERS and GEORGE W. HARTMANN. State College: School of Education, Pennsylvania State College.

*Adolescent Psychology*, by ADA HART ARLETT. New York: American Book Company.

*Behind the Doctor*, by LOGAN CLENDENING. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

*Challenge of Humanism*, by LOUIS J. A. MERCIER. New York: Oxford University Press.

- Child Upbringing and the New Psychology*, by RICHARD AMARAL HOWDEN. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Christian Mission in the Modern World*, by WILLIAM D. SCHERMERHORN. New York: The Abingdon Press.
- Crisis of Democracy*, Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, September 1933. Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science.
- Dawn of Conscience*, by JAMES H. BREASTED. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- Dynamic Social Research*, by JOHN J. HADER and EDUARD C. LINDEMAN. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Effect of Participation in Athletics Upon Scholarship Measured by Achievement Tests*, by JOHN ANDREW COOPER. Penn State Studies in Education, No. 7. State College: School of Education, Pennsylvania State College.
- Eugenic Predicament*, by S. J. HOLMES. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- From Peasant to Collective Farmer*, by N. BUCHWALD and R. BISHOP. New York: International Publishers.
- Institute for Child Guidance Report, 1927-1933*, by LAWSON G. LOWREY and GEDDES SMITH. New York: Division of Publications, Commonwealth Fund.
- Introduction to Western Civilization*, by GEORGE A. HEDGER, et al. Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company.
- It's Up to the Women*, by MRS. FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT. New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company.
- Man Into Woman*, edited by NIELS HOYER. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.
- Management and Teaching Technique*, by GEORGE A. RETAN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Modern Tendencies in World Religion*, by CHARLES SAMUEL BRADEN. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Molders of the American Mind*, by NORMAN WOELFEL. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Mother's Encyclopedia*, Four volumes compiled and edited by the editors of *The Parents' Magazine*. New York: Home and School Book Service, The Parents' Publishing Association, Inc.
- Newspaper Reference Methods*, by ROBERT W. DESMOND. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Social Behavior Patterns*, Volume I of "Observational Studies of Social Behavior," by DOROTHY S. THOMAS, ALICE M. LOOMIS, and RUTH E. ARRINGTON. New Haven: Institute of Human Relations, Yale University.
- Psychology and the New Education*, by S. L. PRESSEY. New York: Harper and Brothers.
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## EDITORIAL

Our whole educational system is under fire. It has ever been under fire as it attempts to serve the public. But the menacing attacks are the more severe at this time when many allied social institutions have their very existence threatened. The individual makes his attack. The *Washington Star* for September 8, 1933, stoops to publish an indictment against the public-school system. "I am sick and tired of all this . . . saving the public schools. Why should they be saved? . . ." *The Journal of the National Education Association* for November quotes the entire indictment. Such complaints of individuals mean little. But opposition becomes serious when the National Education Association inserted in its resolutions at the Chicago meeting last summer: "School expenditures, activities, and objectives are being systematically attacked by certain business and commercial interests and by organizations bearing such names as taxpayers' leagues, economy leagues, and citizens' committees." The Chicago schools' debacle is only one instance of the barbarous attacks upon our public schools.

A simple little plant or a young tree is seriously injured by some accident or malicious enemy. Nature provides disposition and strength to struggle strenuously for the preservation of life and the restoration of vitality. The same principle operates throughout animal life and social institutions.

Teachers and educational organizations throughout the country are amassing their strength to resist the attacks made upon their profession. Foremost among these is the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education, appointed in January 1933 by the National Education Association. This Commission appointed a board of approximately five hundred regional consultants composed mainly of officers in national, State, and local educational organizations and school systems. In this union of representatives from all parts of our country there is unquestioned strength.

"A clean, forthright protest against the wreckers of public schools," comes from this powerful organization of educational leaders, writes McAndrew in his monthly review of books. The appeal is for a more appreciative interpretation of education. "Undisciplined, uneducated human beings will perish amid the pitfalls of the civilization which the machine age is producing unless education comes to their rescue," writes Chairman Norton of the Commission. Support the schools! Have faith in our education! This obstinate resistance is according to nature; an expression of the will to live. Let this effort continue. *THE JOURNAL* wishes to do its part.

But one aspect of the situation is liable to be overlooked. To what extent do lay organizations come to the rescue of the schools? The daily press reported that on October 10 at its convention in Washington the American Federation of Labor adopted a twelve-point educational program as its contribution to the protection of education. This is one instance. There are others. However, the comparative silence of the lay public in the presence of our educational crisis may gently but pointedly imply that this lay public is not so favorably impressed by the social service of our schools as to join in fighting its battles. Leaders in education may do well to encourage frank expression from those engaged in labor and in leisure; those in the home and in society. To this end this issue of *THE JOURNAL* is committed.

In the first article Arthur H. Carver of Swift and Company, Chicago, presents the point of view of the employer



of labor. Victor A. Orlander, secretary of the Illinois State Federation of Labor, intended to present a challenge from laborers themselves, but President Roosevelt requisitioned his assistance at Washington, which forbade his article at this time. An appeal from the masses struggling for their very existence is presented by Paul Dengler, a leader in social and educational work in Austria. James S. Tippettt writes books for children and presents their claims. Henry Harap is engaged in a study of a curriculum for service to increasing leisure hours. He contributes some of his "notes." The last article, by Ruth H. MacClenathan, presents a simple procedure for a coöperative study by teachers and parents.

The editor for this issue has secured these articles in the hope of encouraging closer relationship between the school curriculum and social-industrial life. Each writer is responsible for his own point of view.

JUNIUS L. MERIAM

## WHAT PUBLIC SCHOOLS CAN DO FOR WORKERS IN INDUSTRY

ARTHUR H. CARVER

Supervisor of Training, Swift and Company

Four or five years ago it would have been a relatively simple matter to have written an article on the subject "What the Public Schools Can Do for Workers in Industry." At that time we were at the peak of a prosperity almost unparalleled in American history—a false and illusory prosperity, but, nevertheless, one that, for the time being, made our industries hum with activity and offered employment to almost everybody who seriously wanted to find it. In public education we had certain very well-defined objectives, some of them a trifle hoary with age, perhaps, but, nevertheless, giving us a satisfied feeling that we knew where we were going and were, for the most part, on our way.

There were murmurs and criticisms from many quarters. There were vague feelings that education was, in general, not articulating as smoothly as it should with business and industry; that neither our high schools nor our colleges were furnishing the kind of an environment that bore any close resemblance to the one in which their graduates would find themselves plunged when school days were over; that, indeed, they were more often unfitting than fitting young men and women to take their places successfully in the world of practical affairs. It was charged in some quarters that our high schools were judged too much by the success which they achieved in fitting a minority of their graduates to meet highly arbitrary and often rather absurd entrance requirements set up by colleges and universities which had little to offer those who entered their portals as students that would be of any real help to them in the business of living. It was the duty of the public schools, these critics contended, to educate all of

our youth and to pay equal attention to the needs of those who, whether from necessity or choice, were not destined to enjoy the advantages, such as they were, of higher education.

Yet, by most people, those who said these things were regarded as being nothing more than the inevitable crape-hangers that are ever to be found in any nation where there is freedom of speech. They served a useful purpose by keeping education from getting into too much of a rut. Eternal scrutiny of our institutions prevents stagnation and acts as a spur to progress. The critics were, therefore, to be tolerated, even welcomed, but were not to be taken too seriously. After all, they had been educated in the same school system which they now condemned. If this system had developed in them the intellectual ability to detect and expose real weaknesses in itself, it must be a pretty good system after all. On the contrary, if they were merely indulging in the popular American pastime of finding fault, their caustic strictures were of little importance. In either case, they were not worth getting excited about.

And so we went along, for the most part, complacently indifferent to the fact that our social and economic order was rapidly heading for disaster and a collapse that might have been at least partially averted had the mass of people possessed a finer discrimination between the genuine and the shoddy in education. Commercialism had destroyed our perspective. Statisticians calculated the value of both a high-school and a college education in terms of the larger incomes which they supposedly enabled young men and women to earn. The idea of education for its value in the enrichment of living lacked advertising appeal. Vocational advisers and placement officers measured their success by the average salaries of those for whom they found positions rather than by the soundness of their results in getting young people into lines of work for which they were best fitted. Parents sent their children to schools and colleges primarily with the fond hope that they might escape the hardships which the parents themselves had

endured in earning a living, forgetting that, in the process of facing those hardships and meeting the obstacles that had to be surmounted largely by their own efforts, confidence and courage had been born in themselves, resourcefulness had been developed, and character had been achieved. The philosophy of living for service gave way to the more attractive philosophy of getting more for doing less. Perplexed, self-made business men presented the curious spectacle of looking with ill-concealed skepticism upon the value of a college education in business while at the same time they sent their own sons to college to acquire the education which they affected to despise.

One by one, higher institutions of learning succumbed more to the hectic demand for the "practical" in education or else, in a few instances, leaned backward in pathetic efforts to keep faith with the traditions of Victorian culture. On the one hand, once dignified universities granted time-honored degrees for graduation from vocational courses of every conceivable description ranging from tea-room to laundry management; on the other, a few stuck to their guns and resolutely refused to regard many worthwhile subjects as cultural because they were not sufficiently useless. It was small wonder that most people became a little hazy in their notions of what constituted the real ends and aims of education.

With those who protest that this picture is overdrawn we will not quarrel, observing only that the artist who desires his canvas to produce a true impression of the vivid landscape that he seeks to portray must often paint in bolder colors than nature herself employs. We freely admit that there were many educational institutions which honestly sought to steer a middle course despite the powerful and contradictory influences that were brought to bear upon them. But there were few, indeed, that were able to hold steadfastly to their ideals and maintain their perspective. Self-preservation forced them in most cases to participate, however reluctantly, in the mad scramble for students that characterized the age.

was each year receiving into its ranks increasing numbers of recruits who were inadequately prepared in several important respects to cope successfully with the serious problems of adjustment which they had to meet. Passing abruptly from the highly artificial environment of the school, they plunged into the totally different environment of commerce and industry without possessing any accurate mental picture of the conditions which they would have to face. This picture, we hold, is one of the primary responsibilities of education to furnish. It is not merely that our schools and colleges were failing to do this; the fact is that they were presenting a picture which became progressively more untrue to reality the longer the period of formal education was extended. As a consequence, we were confronted with the curious anomaly of having poverty-stricken children of unskilled wage earners leaving the seventh and eighth grades for "jobs" in factories or on the streets with a far better understanding of what to expect than had those from families in happier economic circumstances who continued through high school and college. Why? Because they caught their picture from their parents and their own home life. It is far easier for the son of a pauper to start in where his father left off than it is for the son of a rich man. The former can begin his career at the bottom and it will seem just like home to him.

The second respect in which our young recruits into the ranks of commerce and industry have been inadequately prepared concerns their lack of understanding of the fundamental social and economic principles upon which all business rests. It is quite useless to attempt to excuse this ignorance by saying that sociology and economics are subjects far too difficult for the immature minds of grammar-school and even high-school students to grasp. Such a statement is doubtless true enough if we are thinking in terms of the abstract and sometimes highly pedantic textbooks on these subjects whose authors so dearly love to avoid the use of a short word if they can find a long one that will do just as well. The fact is that the basic principles to which we refer are quite easily observed in and

deduced from commonplace events in the daily lives of boys and girls themselves. Indeed, young people are unconsciously making such deductions right along. The trouble is that, being without guidance in their thinking, they generalize from too few particular cases, mistake false premises for true ones, and reason incorrectly to wrong conclusions. But these conclusions, such as they are, persist in their minds because they are the creation of their own brains. In reaching them, they have experienced the thrill of what James used to call the "shock of discovery," and their whole attitude towards life in later years is distorted by them.

We may as well cast aside once and for all the delusion that nobody is an economist unless he has made a formal study of the subject in college. The truth is that in these days every one is an economist (albeit many are very poor ones) in the sense that he has some sort of ideas on most of the fundamental economic relations of life. As a matter of fact, I think I have heard more discussions that were economic in their nature among loafers in barber shops than I have heard among the so-called intelligentsia. The conclusions reached in such discussions are usually incorrect and often dangerous because of the discontent and class hatred which they breed, but they are none the less real to those who make them. Much of this could be avoided if every boy and girl, while still in grade school, were made to understand the simple facts about how value is created, how prices are related to supply and demand, what capital is and how it always originates in personal sacrifice, how the natural resources of old mother earth are converted into usable wealth by the joint efforts of the laborer and capitalist brought together in a coöperative industrial team by some organizer who assumes the risk and manages the enterprise, and how the interests of each member of this industrial team are, at least in some respects, mutual and, therefore, promoted by harmony rather than by suspicion and antagonism.

All of these concepts can be grasped by any reasonably intelligent pupil of the sixth grade if they are brought before him in the right way by a skillful teacher who is

able to draw freely upon concrete illustrative material taken from the familiar experiences of child life. Few teachers have the ability to do this sort of thing well. In the attempt to appeal to the youthful imagination in terms that the intelligence of childhood can grasp, the tendency is all too common to "talk down" to young people too much, thereby arousing their scorn and resentment. There are few things that a twelve-year-old boy detests more than to be talked to as if he was only nine or ten years old. By the same token, there is nothing that arouses his derision more certainly than to hear his teacher try to talk in terms of his everyday experience and slip up in her facts.

We once witnessed a rather pathetic instance of the latter kind when a sixth-grade teacher was intent upon impressing on the minds of her pupils the value of persistent effort in the face of discouraging conditions. She chose to illustrate her point by a reference to football, in which she knew that the boys in her class were greatly interested. She had them all agog with excitement as she pictured dramatically the stubborn fight put up by a light, fast team against opponents who were far heavier and more experienced. As she reached the climax of her story, she told how the little quarterback broke a scoreless tie in the closing seconds of the game by recovering a fumble in the middle of the field and dashing a hundred yards to a touchdown. The snickers which immediately went around the room changed to a burst of derisive laughter as the fat boy—who was the dunce of the class but who did know his football—exploded with the indignant protest, "Aw nertz, he couldn't run a hundred yards if he picked the ball up in the middle of the field!" The point of an otherwise effective illustration was completely lost in the scorn of her pupils at her exhibition of ignorance.

We have mentioned two respects in which our system of education has been inadequate in preparing youth to take its place in the world of practical affairs when the days of formal training in the classroom are over. But, in addition to the pupil's ignorance of the environment he is about to enter and his lack of understanding of the

basic principles upon which the social and economic structure of modern society is founded, there is yet another and perhaps even more important fault for which our present-day educational methods and set-up are partly responsible. We refer to his skeptical and sometimes contemptuous opinion of the ethics of American business. Most of what he may have had drilled into him about the "square deal" in relations between employers and employees, fair competition in industry, honest service, and business integrity is belied by what he sees all around him.

It is true that much of this he sees in his relations with his home and the community in which he lives, so that it would be very unfair to attribute his dubious attitude towards ethical idealism in business wholly or even chiefly to defects in the educational system of which he is a product. Nevertheless, the school and college are the institutions with which his contacts have, up to this point in his life, been closest. It is in their environment that he has spent most of his time during the period when he is most impressionable. Much as we might wish to do so, we cannot escape the conviction that many of the things that he has experienced in this environment contribute towards if they do not actually create in him a settled belief that ethical ideals, however fine they may be in theory, are incompatible with the policies and practices which he must follow if he hopes to be successful in business.

Now this is a grave charge which, unless it can be substantiated, must inevitably bring down upon the head of him who makes it the righteous wrath of many fine people who have given their lives to devoted, conscientious service in American educational institutions. Let us look at the question, therefore, with open minds and see what evidence there is to support such a claim. We are willing to rest our case upon an unbiased appraisal of the experiences which the average young person has who passes through the public schools of any typical American community, especially if that community is one of our large cities. The effect is even more pronounced if he continues his education through college.



From the beginning, such a young person finds himself in a miniature world in which values are more or less artificial and distorted and many curious anomalies exist against which his innate notions of fairness and justice rebel. In the end he generally comes to accept these as the normal phenomena of life and adjusts himself to them at the cost of blunted ideals and often a smoldering resentment against the insincerity of the social order within which he is imprisoned. He observes, for one thing, that his status with his teachers and fellow pupils depends in no small degree upon the social standing and business or political influence of his parents and family in the community. Many teachers will indignantly deny that this is true so far as their own attitude towards their pupils is concerned; but, if they will honestly submit themselves to stern self-examination, there are few who will not have to admit that they spend more time and care in grading and disciplining the children of some parents than of others because of a lurking fear or sense of what is expedient from the standpoint of their own personal popularity and success.

The pupil soon observes also that scholastic honors and distinctions are awarded far more on the basis of natural endowment than on the extent to which he has made the most of his opportunities. Common sense tells him that the student with a 70 per cent brain who, by dint of earnest application of his limited natural ability to his studies, earns grades that will average 80 per cent is far more deserving of credit and has acquired far more from his education that will be useful in later life than the student with a 95 per cent brain who, because of brilliant intelligence, secures grades of 90 per cent without half trying. Yet it is the latter who gets the prizes and wins the public applause at the graduation exercises. A boy does not have honors heaped upon him because nature has made him the tallest member of his class. Why should they be heaped upon him because nature has endowed him with superior intelligence? The boy has nothing to do with it in either case. Small wonder that he ultimately faces life with the conviction that the cards are stacked in favor of some

and against others and that his own success will depend chiefly upon factors over which he has no control.

There are other inconsistencies in the grading practices of most schools that bewilder him. Because of poor instruction in the common schools or lack of natural ability in mathematics, let us say, he finds when he enters high school that algebra is a very difficult subject for him to master. Conscious of his limitations, he sets to work with might and main to overcome them. His very low grade of September steadily improves as the year goes on until he is getting better than 90 per cent in May and June and really understands the subject. His brilliant fellow classmate starts off excellently because the subject is easy for him, loafes along week after week, and finishes by barely passing the subject in the closing months of the school year. Yet the average grades in algebra are the same for the two boys at the end of the year! Which of the two knows more about the subject? Which of the two deserves the greater credit? Every teacher is familiar with such cases.

Such things as this instill in young people the idea that society does not reward intrinsic worth and that there are short-cuts to success that are more effective than hard work if one can only be clever enough to learn how to take advantage of them. They conclude that conscientious effort is all right, but good showmanship gets one farther; so does playing up to the whims and prejudices of their superiors, provided it is done skillfully. Such ideas are likely to stay with them in later life.

By no means are all of these demoralizing influences confined to the classroom. As he reaches high-school age, our young man reads the local newspapers and hears the current gossip. He finds that politics often play a prominent part in local school affairs. Not infrequently does he felt scant respect for the local school board. He sees incompetent teachers and principals holding their jobs through political influence; observes others who are more capable being removed for political reasons; hears charges of extravagance and graft in the expenditure of school

funds for buildings and equipment; learns that janitors are often paid more than teachers, possibly because the former are unionized and the latter are not; and, in these days, sometimes find that even the modest salaries that his teachers are supposed to receive are unpaid because of lack of funds although all sorts of wasteful expenditures are being charged against other departments of the local government. On public occasions he hears much about what he owes to the community for the wonderful opportunities for free education with which it provides him, only to learn sooner or later that the palatial high school which he has attended was built with money raised from the issue of long-term bonds, the principal of which he and his fellow pupils will some day be obliged to pay off. Again we ask, is it any wonder that he listens to much that he is told about ethics in business with his tongue in his cheek?

What can our educational institutions do for those who enter commerce and industry? They can do a great deal if they have the vision to understand the real problems that face us in these turbulent times and the wise and courageous leadership necessary to meet them. Specifically, we suggest the following:

1. They can perform a great public service by putting the emphasis upon the value of education as a means of making life a broader, richer, more wholesome experience instead of upon its supposed influence in enabling people to earn more money with less work.

2. They should reduce the enormous economic waste that now results from the difficult transition from the environment of the school to the environment of business by bringing business men and educators together so that they may understand each other's problems better and jointly work out means whereby the disillusionment of youth will become unnecessary and the adjustment to the conditions of practical life more simple.

3. They should reorganize their curricula so as to make them more flexible in meeting the needs of those who enter business, eliminate subjects that at present have little value that is either cultural or practical, place more emphasis upon those fundamentals that have the broadest application to everyday life, and introduce before the compulsory age limit has been reached some simple instruction in the basic economic and sociological principles upon which modern society rests. Instruction of this type should continue until the end of the high-school course has been reached and will require the development of new text material and a special teaching technique.

4. They should revise outworn systems of grading so as to reward achievement in proportion to ability and opportunity rather than the possession of natural endowments of superior intelligence for which pupils deserve no credit whatever. Mere proficiency in any subject can and should be recognized in a different way, but its importance should always be made secondary to that of the development of studious habits, thoroughness, accurate thinking, and complete use of such mental powers as each pupil possesses.

5. They should abolish all fraternities and other school organizations that tend to create class distinctions based upon wealth and social standing in the community, thereby avoiding the promotion of class antagonisms that are bound to carry over into later life. Only such extra-curricular activities should be permitted as tend to recognize merit wherever it exists, to foster coöperation, and to break down the barriers that separate pupils into cliques regardless of what these barriers may be.

6. They should wage a persistent and determined warfare against the introduction of politics into our public schools and insist upon keeping favoritism, graft, and extravagance out of every phase of their management. Such warfare can never be fully successful in permanently achieving its ends, but it can, at least, make clear to the rising generation that evils of this kind do not pass unchallenged.

7. They should furnish youth with a continuous example of conscientious public service by operating efficiently, yet with due regard to economy, in the use of funds raised by public taxation. The tendency which has recently appeared in some quarters to resist obstinately any curtailment of school budgets during the current financial depression is greatly to be deplored.

8. They should clarify the confusion that exists in the public mind by sinking petty differences of opinion and uniting upon some simple definition of the legitimate ends and aims of education and so restore a confidence in educational leadership that is at present becoming conspicuous by its absence.

Carrying out such a program is a task of tremendous difficulty, but in the end it must be done if American institutions are to survive. We as a nation are passing through the most critical stage in our history. We are paying right now not only for our deliberate sins but also for our stupidity. We are paying only a small part of the price that will have to be paid. We are leaving to succeeding generations an appalling legacy of unsolved political, economic, and social problems. It is too late to avoid the consequences now. The least we can do is to give to our youth the best preparation we are able to give them to meet the issues of the future with courage and faith in the essential soundness of American principles and traditions.

## THE CRISIS OF EDUCATION IN AUSTRIA

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By general consensus of opinion, the end of the World War marked the beginning of a new era in the Austrian schools. This rebirth from within had its origin and its cause far back in the old times, but the well-established world of old days and the old beliefs of the monarchy did not favor the bringing about of any radical educational changes. The cultivation of an all-round personality through a liberal education was the aim of higher Austrian secondary education in prewar days. The educational philosophy of the nation was still based on the ideas of the early nineteenth century and its neohumanism. It is true that it was in smaller degrees that the personality of the growing individual was sought to be developed. An accumulation of knowledge had been put into the schools and the passing successfully of all kinds of papers, tests, and examinations became the proof of intellectual ability and readiness for leadership. Latin and Greek were the basic subjects of such education, not only for the cultural values attainable in the classics, but principally for the mental discipline which they offered. The necessary discipline of the spirit cannot be better achieved than by the study of the classics; so educators in our part of the world believed and, to some extent, still do. Similar was the general consensus in England, France, Italy, and in practically all countries of European culture.

The tremendous progress in discoveries and inventions since 1900 made it necessary, however, to give to the sciences an important place in the curriculum. A larger number of higher secondary schools without the old neohumanism but with emphasis on the natural sciences and modern languages came into existence. These schools, however, were socially not as acceptable. It still remained the smart

thing to attend the "Gymnasium" for children who had to consider their future prestige in society.

How about the sons and daughters of the humbler people in those days? They received a general high-school training which was not entirely intended for immediate and direct practical application. Elementary education in Austria was not merely vocational; there was some effort to give an all-round education. The Austrian laws for popular education were, at that time, considered as model laws in Europe. But the limit was rather narrowly drawn. A number of facts were carefully consolidated and were to be passively accepted by the pupil. No special effort was made to create in the young mind an attitude for further learning and improvement. The spirit of research and investigation and the inquisitive and critical mind was not encouraged and not even desired. The stress was laid on passive acceptance and memorizing.

It is generally understood in democratic countries that in Austria or Germany it was formerly impossible for a poor child to enter the higher educational system of the country. This is not true. There was, however, little desire for doing so on the part of the poorer classes. They were not concerned about social prestige but rather sought to finish the educational process as soon as possible and to find a job, which would relieve their parents from giving them financial support. Once enrolled in the elementary type of education there was little or practically no chance of changing one's mind and of joining the élite which speeded up through the Gymnasium or lycée for reaching the university doors. The professional studies thus remained reserved mainly for the social élite of the country.

It is quite evident that such a state of society based on the old traditions, as venerable as they might be, coming down to our world from the Middle Ages, was considered utterly out of date by the socialistic groups of Austria. Yet they were so small in number that they could not exercise any important influence for bringing about a change in the system. After the breakdown of the old régime, the old school and its ideals were immediately challenged

and bitterly fought by socialism, which had suddenly won the support of a two-thirds majority of the citizens in Austria's capital, Vienna.

The life at the front demanding equal sacrifices from rich and poor in a fight for a common cause brought about in the trenches of England and France similar ideas, and the conviction that the old-time curriculum and organization of schools were out of date became general. The dual theory of active training for research in the higher and passive acceptance of facts in the lower classes seemed to perpetuate the separation of the nation's children into two different worlds. For in England and France, too, there was the academic world with all its lure and beauty, and there was the humbler one of the masses. This seems to be intolerable now and it is held that all children should be given equal opportunities.

Proposals to bring closer together both educational institutions of Austria, the higher and the lower, were conceived and laid before the Austrian Parliament soon after the war. The socialist deputies went even so far as to propose a complete fusion of education up to a certain age, usually fourteen. They felt that this would give a chance to every child, regardless of the class or corner of the country he might come from, how poor he might be, or how untrained his mind, finally to go to the university. Socialist educators of Austria tried, in the Vienna schools, an experiment of a unified curriculum for all children up to the age of fourteen. The plan was carried out in quite a number of Viennese high schools and was widely discussed all over the nation. The western countries of Europe also considered introducing such a unified school, doing away once and forever with the division into a small cultural élite and an overwhelming majority the masses denied training on leaving high school and strictly limited as to future possibilities. A new wave of conservatism, however, soon halted in England and France the projects of unification of the school system. How much more the countries in which revolutions had taken place embraced this new scheme! Russia before all, but also Germany.

Everywhere that socialism came into control of the public school the new ideas were made fundamentals of the reforms. The stronger the political power of socialism was, the more radical the changes. In southern Germany, where the Catholic church still remained a considerable power after the war, the old curriculum was less challenged than in the radical north, in Berlin or Hamburg.

It is easily understood that new education in Austria became closely associated with the political radicalism of Vienna. Curriculum organization, teaching methods, teacher training, and other matters were guided by the socialistic aim to gain complete control over the country. The discussion left the realm of educational thought and entered, to its detriment, the political arena. The struggle went on for years, and its issue as an educational matter always depended on the political strength of friend and enemy. It has come to an acute stage through the complete change in the political structure of Austria in these last months.

Why was the humanistic ideal so strongly opposed from the beginning by the newcomers who only were concerned about the future of the children of the people? First, they disliked the humanistic ideal because it had belonged to a world in which the masses had lived in ignorance (in some countries, not Austria, in a real state of slavery), while a small élite enjoyed leisure and benefited from a life of aesthetic culture reserved exclusively for them. If class privilege was not quite the case in Austria, as I have said above, the prevention of it served as a powerful slogan for the socialist-democrats in their violent speeches. They asked for complete abolishment of class privilege in Austrian education and the removal of a dead humanistic ideal, a relic of a dead old world.

Then, second, the new leaders of the masses of Austrian workers suddenly coming into the limelight of educational leadership adored "science." "This is the machine age," they said. The faith in the human mind, in its ability and capacity to discover even the lost secrets of the universe and to make them docile servants of the human race, was



so strong that it almost became a religious belief in itself. The Russian example shows Marxism to be for the mentally materialistic; an antireligious person worships science as a new modern religion. How much space could there be left for the study of Greek and Latin civilizations dating so far back and based on such different principles? The position of the manual worker in this modern world, who needs the classics less than anybody else, was particularly stressed in the Vienna school-reform plan. Only gradually the intellectual worker was given a not quite equal place in the economic process which reflected itself in textbooks, curricula, and in the whole of teacher training. The conservative force of the country was strong enough to prevent a complete overturn into a unified school curriculum. By way of compromise, both kinds of secondary education, the lower and the higher, were preserved, the difference from old times being that easy transfer was provided for the gifted child during the whole period of compulsory school attendance.

How does it happen that fifteen years after her establishment the new Republic of Austria has come to a serious crisis of new education, a crisis in the apparent existence which everybody, even the fervent promoters of new education, admits?

Apparently this critical situation of new education is due to the disappointment in the practical achievements as far as the establishment of standard methods and educational results are concerned. This is true for both lower and higher educational institutions. The strong belief of postwar educators in the individual (of "every" individual) if it is placed within the right surroundings has lost much of its force. More and more it appears that nature herself distributes her gifts very haphazardly here and there. Some receive them and some do not, and the most splendid efforts of a gifted teacher may be wasted on an average individual.

Furthermore, no tools and no methods could be worked out by which an average teacher could be enabled to apply the new educational principles to an average group of chil-

dren. But if the thought of innate fundamental inequality of man is true, how about the principle of one democratic and unified school for all? It then seems that the twofold educational system was fundamentally right; the shortcoming then was due to the fact that the solution was more or less a social and not an intellectual one. Even radical thinkers necessarily begin to believe again in dividing the schools of the nation into one category for leaders and another for followers.

That the educational crisis in Austria is deeply influenced and accentuated by the economic depression scarcely needs special mention. When sixty children are seated in a classroom where thirty at the maximum should be, when able teachers are dismissed because there is no space in the state budget for them, when severe privations oppress those who are allowed to go on teaching when there is little or no money for material equipment, then one can expect but little enthusiasm for keen innovations. The economic situation of school teachers all over the world is more pitiable than words can explain. To describe their sufferings goes far beyond my knowledge of the English language.

Last but not least, the change in the educational beliefs of my country has been brought about by the philosophy of Fascism which surrounds us in the North, South, and East. Fascism in Italy, Germany, and Hungary, our neighboring countries, has necessarily had an immediate effect on the Austrian people. Marxism as an international fighting organization of the poorer classes first for equality and second for complete control is more and more considered to be on the wrong track. National socialism of the German type is strong in Austria. It looks for a new solution of the problem of educating the leaders, as well as the masses of the people. It aims towards a complete change of the public-school curriculum. The future development of this movement which has got so strong a hold on the Austrian mind is still quite uncertain. One characteristic of it that differs so much from Marxism is that it places the conflict between the élite and the mass, the rich and the poor, right

within the nation itself. The structural change of the Austria to come is thus no more expected from without by a world revolution of the suppressed ones who unite against their suppressors regardless of creed, race, color, or nation.

Certainly the present public-school curriculum of Austria will have to pass a serious test in days to come. It will soon be asked: How far has the postwar generation of educators (being so proud of their achievements and appraising them so loudly) been able to break down the spiritual barriers between the children of the nation in the school? How far has the curriculum been transformed to suit the needs of the masses? Have the theories of progressive education really brought "life" into the school? Has there been any progress since the old régime? It certainly would be unjust to condemn everything which has been done as the new radicalism is inclined to do.

It seems, however, to be a fact that not only has the ideal of new education not been achieved in those fifteen years, but that it has not even been clearly conceived and successfully pursued! It is not too much of a comfort to state that we Austrians find the public-school curriculum challenged all over Europe. What has been done was a rather weak compromise between the old and the new by inserting the new into the old here and there. Therefore, the growing general disappointment in new education.

Certainly Austrian educators are facing a greater task today than ever before. To what degree the classics, with their manifold influences on the greatness and the achievements of our civilization in the past, will be maintained in the schools of the future can only be guessed at today. The trends of Fascist thought are pointedly directed towards the nation's own past and the consciousness of its very foundations. It seems, therefore, likely that the new intellectual élite of Austria will be made more conscious than ever of the forces which formed the genius of her nation in the past and brought about the creative achievements of her great men. I personally would be disappointed to miss entirely the eternal thoughts of that classical world which has formed my own mind during the days of youth.

But classics or not is not the main problem. In public mass education everything seems to be in utter confusion. Only one fact is clear to all: that the present curriculum does not satisfy anybody any more. The masses in despair today cannot look upon that school as one which gives them what they need. There has been much hope but little fulfillment. School has not taught the children of the nation what they long for, nor how to make right use of their leisure, nor has it even been able to provide them with jobs to which they are entitled by fundamental and undeniable rights.

This is the double task set before educators in Austria as before educators the world over; to find a way which gives the future world new leaders and to give a new adequate education to the followers.

## A CURRICULUM FOR CHILDREN AT HOME

JAMES S. TIPPETT

A child's first concern, although, of course, he could not put it into words nor does he designedly think much about it, is to understand what this curious world is saying to him. That is a mighty concern, not ended until life ends or until he has developed prejudices and convictions which close his senses to new or changing conditions. It seeks to interpret what people say and do to him and to each other. It seeks to give place and pattern to an environment, always pressing upon him and often confusing. It seeks to arrive at last at a satisfying design for life, although much of the cloth is woven before he becomes even remotely conscious that any design will show. The design which finally emerges is his education, the result of his concern, gropingly followed or consciously directed, to understand whatever he meets.

It is significant that the child is born plastic, a mass of nerves, flesh, and bones, capable of growth into a network of connections between nerve fibers and into a mechanism muscularly coördinated. Feeding and sleeping, kicking and crowing, turning his head and reaching towards the light, he grows into crawling and walking and talking. Little by little his nerve connections are made. Day by day his physical possibilities take on form and stature. Gradually from chaos, void except for inherited capacity for development, he advances into an individual with an ever increasing accumulation of learnings necessary for the successful continuation of his life. This process is continuous. Unremitting care is essential for the right direction of all his vital activity, likely as it is to follow almost any path. This expert guidance is necessary if at the end the child is to have character and personality at all suited to the line of his natural inheritance and to the huge and bustling world about him.

The fact that education is, willy-nilly, unceasing from

the child's first cry until his last adult gasp makes heavy demands upon any person who comes into contact with the child along the way. What parents do and say, what relatives and friends and even chance acquaintances do and say, what the home and the community are like at once begin to affect the child's attitudes and the meanings which he attaches to things and the interchange of ideas. It is this consideration which insists that parental education cannot be neglected if childhood education is to be right and effective in the highest individual and social sense. It is this consideration, too, which is bringing into the wise program of childhood education the nursery school and kindergarten. These are agencies which make expert guidance possible at an early period. It is fatal to wait until the age of six to begin the building of proper attitudes and meanings, assuming that education is to be thought of as more than the teaching of reading, writing, and other formal skills, or the amassing of textbook information. Real education does not wait for formal school training.

The proper starting point for that education about which anything can be done is the normal active life of the child. He likes to run and jump and chase. He likes to construct, to make things. He dramatizes and gives meaning to his play life. He is constantly seeking to satisfy his curiosity, exploring and discovering and questioning. The richness of his education depends upon the richness with which he does all these things.

Babies have at last been freed of swaddling clothes and confining bands and long hampering clothes. They can use their arms and legs. Wise parents give them every opportunity for the development of their muscles. At the seashore, in the yard, in the park, and even in apartment houses this freedom to exercise is apparent. Wise parents, having provided opportunities for free exercise, keep away from too much assistance or direction. The child is allowed to become physically independent. A thoughtful teacher in the preschool or any school follows the same procedure. She provides ladders to climb, boxes to stack and mount, boards to set on blocks and to walk, sand in which to bur-

row, and space in which to run and chase. A vacant lot in which to leap and run, an old apple tree which can be climbed and from whose limbs one can swing and hang furnish untold possibilities for stretching muscles and for finding out about one's physical make-up. Society in general and schools in particular ought to see to it that more such apparatus and the time to use it freely is supplied to the growing child. Then the director of play, intelligently concerned for the child's development, keeps away from too much direction, standing ready only to help the timid child to find himself or to offer suggestions to all for more meaningful play activities. Too much direction and too much organization of play activities stop educative growth. The child who tumbles and rolls, who jumps and falls, who climbs and swings is finding himself. He learns to manipulate his muscles to suit his needs. The one who waits always upon direction becomes an automaton, having no physical-play plans for himself and not knowing his capabilities. Education for childhood means setting childhood free to find itself and then helping when the need arises.

Interest in construction soon shows itself as a part of the activity through which the child learns control over materials. Piling blocks for a tower soon to be knocked over, making a place out of boxes or blocks in which to sit or lie, modeling mudpies or clay dishes, building a pen or house of sticks, sewing a doll's dress, making a home for a pet; these are early and continuing manifestations of the absorbing interest that the child has in making things with his hands. Elaborate materials are not necessary. Neither are perfect tools. But some kinds of materials and some kinds of tools, those suited to the particular stage of growth, are necessary if growth in understanding an environment and its content are expected. These must find a place as accompaniments to education for childhood, both in the home, on the playground, and in the school. They are a real part of the child's normal growing life. Nothing can take the place of putting an idea into practice through constructing a counterpart of it. The child gets an idea of a boat. He makes one and clarifies his

idea. He makes a house for his dolls and puts in furniture which he has designed, often crude to be sure, but always after that his conception of a home has more meaning for him. He builds a bookcase for his own book treasures and they become still greater treasures. As the members of any society gain more leisure time, these first efforts at putting ideas into form through the use of tools and materials will have a growing significance for a more profitable use of that leisure. Again, as in physical play, the understanding educator will stand ready to suggest additional constructive ventures and to help raise standards of workmanship when that is desirable.

Attending upon the active play life and the various avenues of constructive expression of the child is an urge to dramatize what he does. Not only does he chase and run. He is an Indian or a racing automobile. As he climbs and swings he is a sailor or an acrobat. He rides stick horses and becomes a wild cowboy or a kicking, plunging mustang. His physical movement is every moment alive with dramatic possibilities. So, too, it is with the things he makes. Under some spreading tree he lays out a play farm, with sticks for fences and stones for houses and animals. Then he becomes a farmer and in dramatic play lives the life of one, driving his cows to pasture, plowing his fields, and taking his produce to market. Having constructed a boat or train he becomes the captain or the engineer and speeds away to distant lands, limiting his imaginative traveling only because of his limited knowledge of places to go. Sometimes his construction finds a place in his life only to serve this dramatic impulse. What he makes is for the purpose of make-believe. Physical play and constructive invention, of course, may serve real purposes, not imaginative at all, but always the child pictures himself in connection with the world he is making and feeling. What he did here or there and what he caused some one else to do are constantly in the forefront of his thinking.

Through this dramatic urge the child is building up meanings for everything. Through its direction the most



telling of all effects for richness in the educative process can be secured. Wherever the child is, this dramatic life goes on. Insistently it has forced recognition of itself so that now a school which takes itself seriously as a formative force for education finds many occasions to allow the dramatic reliving of experiences gained either in or out of its rooms. Children in understanding homes, in well-planned kindergartens, or even much higher classes dramatize city life or home activities or the customs of other people or the work of the world. They play physically and constructively and dramatically and out of all this the pattern for the web of their lives is woven. Time is required to live thus fully and to accumulate meanings in things and ideas so richly. Side by side with the demand for time to grow is the need for wise and expert direction. To help a child see make-believe as make-believe and reality as reality, to assist him to assemble significant meanings from absorbing childlike activity are demands made upon every educator.

Weaving in and out of the child's play life is the constant attempt he makes to satisfy his curiosity. He wants to know this and that. He is constantly exploring. If sympathetically helped through opportunities for observation in many different environments, the natural world about him, the practical world of machines, the wonder realm of people and ideas, he has already, before the age at which he goes formally to school, become a feeling, thinking individual. He has seen meaning in much of what at first seemed a confused mass of things about him. Little by little he gathers the material for the pattern of his life with whatever understanding of it he can assimilate.

Not the less essential for his continued growth into ripened understanding and thought is an ever increasing store of experience. All schools must take this seriously to heart. The walls of the classrooms must not shut out all the thought-provoking world in which he has played and worked and learned. Even if they wish, they cannot make of him a strictly academic mechanism. As soon as he gets beyond them, his vivid life of exploring and attach-

ing meanings begins. The schoolroom must become a replica of rich living if it is to affect him in any way except most narrowly. There he must continue his playing, his constructing, his dramatizing, and his satisfying of a growing curiosity, and he must do this in a far more significant way because teachers have been or can be trained to give him the most expert help.

The child's experience is enlarged and should be constantly and increasingly enlarged through social contacts. To play, to work, and to explore in company with others of his own age and range of interests gives him a real knowledge of his own capabilities. A group of children of about the same social age, which means ability to get on together in group undertakings and at the same time to have the possibility for evaluating properly individual effort, will develop forward-looking mental attitudes, sound work habits, and appreciation for the meaning of the demands which a society makes upon its members. This should not be understood to undervalue the contacts which a child needs to make with less mature as well as more mature members of the social order. Those, too, should receive attention. But of primary importance is the provision for experiences in connection with others whose point of view he can understand.

It is a hopeful sign for more wholesome education for childhood when from the home and from the school the children make excursions into their environment. Some item of curiosity to be satisfied or some need for expansion sets the excursion going. Under informed leadership the children see with knowing eyes. They bring back enlarged vision with greater understanding and, in addition, stimulation for further observation and exploration. The child may go daily on errands to the grocery store, he may often pass a building in course of construction, he may follow a woodland path every time he goes to a neighbor's house, and he may have failed to make a single contact with the environment. No significant meanings may emerge. He needs the guidance of some one who knows how to point to him what he sees and what he

wants to know. This is the difference between simply learning for himself, or "gutter education," and learning under wise direction. In either case, he does add to his education. In the latter case, the likelihood for education ending in a finer life pattern is more assured.

The child at first plays and constructs and explores on a level where books play no part. But in order to provide for full living and many-sided interests, the accumulated racial background, as it has been recorded in books, must be delved into and fitted into its rightful place of adding more meaning to experiences. The need for mastery of certain skills such as reading arises. Out of the wealth of past experience and the need for interpretation of new experiences the child comes fresh and eager to the conquest. The greatest of all demands which is made upon the leader of childhood is for extended and significant experiences out of which the need for mastery of techniques will take form. Such a conception relegates technical equipment and accumulated information to their rightful place. They are handmaidens serving a master of developing experiences and of widening life interests.

Much useless time is spent in schools in acquiring skills for which the child has no present need and for which the adult will find scant use. Adult accomplishments and adult standards color too much the school requirements loaded on the child. Formal elementary education, carried on in reputable schools, can be appallingly ludicrous. Worst of all it can, and far too often is, wasteful of active human energy. The child is eager to learn. Plump him into something to learn is the motto of formal school education. But that is forgetting that his eagerness comes from his absorbing concern with affairs which have meaning for him. Sunday schools often wonder at the ineffectiveness of their teaching of great and significant truths. Teachers of citizenship are concerned at the lack of it when they judge the quality and direction of their teaching by life as it is reflected in daily newspapers and on city streets and country highways. The difficulty can be pointed out easily and unerringly. The child has too soon been forced

to consider adult experiences and their meanings. His own experiences have not brought him to the level of those about which he is urged to think. He can in consequence give only lip service to such matters, no matter how important adults think them, and develops probably entirely warped, if any, points of view concerning them. Huge masses of information, logically arranged and heatedly presented, have been thrust upon him. For the moment only he stores them in his mind. They have no favorable effect upon him as a thinking being for they have not had and cannot have a place in life as he must live it. Information and skills are valuable when they serve a vital present purpose. Although learned to the point of mastery, as they easily can be, they are sloughed off at the first opportunity if they do not serve some purpose which the learner can well define for himself. Something from his experience which he does find valuable because it serves a purpose or meets a need he feels is soon substituted. Today the lack of sound character in many quarters, the lack of an enlightened citizenship, the lack of people prepared to use in a worthy way the leisure they may have are generally lamented. Formal education as it has been practised and informal education as it has grown have tended to make rifts in character and in citizenship just because, in the one case, they have dwelt upon meanings, no matter how significant or useful they are for adults, at a time when children could not comprehend or use them and, in the second case, have allowed vitiating influences to go on unchecked. The child, in both cases, has developed the pattern of his life without understanding and without wise direction.

Education for childhood must take the child as he comes into the world. It must help him to realize in all directions his possibilities. It must, through his interests in play and constructing and dramatizing and satisfying his curiosity, lead him into richer and broader interests. It must help him gain skills and information which will help when he finds them significant. It must keep itself constantly upon his level and be ready always to guide him

into the next steps of his development. It must not make itself piecemeal, seeking to lodge in compartments in the child mind. Education goes on and on and each item of it finds a place for itself. The place it finds and the meaning it has can be affected by wise, constant, and growing guidance which looks first at the one to be guided.

# PLANNING THE CURRICULUM FOR LEISURE

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## INTRODUCTION

The trend towards the reduction in the working week had been evident for some time prior to the recent national legislation on the subject. Wolman and Peck estimate that in the last fifty years the normal work week has decreased by twenty hours. The average forty-eight-hour week of the predepression period is destined to decrease sharply to a thirty-five or forty-hour week, if not less. The age-long dream of an abundant leisure is about to come true, an unexpected gift of the technological epoch in industry.

Wallace B. Donham in *Business Adrift* points out that the demand for security, self-respect, and leisure must be met by better business and governmental planning to assure steady employment, shorter working hours, and adequate real wages. Without a plan for an enrichment of the creative activities and recreational habits of the people, self-respect and satisfying leisure are unattainable. The teachers of the nation, therefore, face the tremendous challenge of the impending new leisure.

Nearly all educational analyses of the major fields of life include leisure. From an economic point of view several investigators estimate that the cost of recreation is from twelve to twenty-five per cent of the national income. Nevertheless, a complete program of education for leisure, organized and developed, is still generally lacking.

The recreational policy of the American school is bound to undergo considerable change in the next few years. It is worth considering whether leisure studies will attain a departmental status parallel with the social studies, health studies, etc. Any functional reorganization of the school

into departments based on major fields of life, such as proposed by Bobbitt, Charters, Watson, Lomax, would undoubtedly include leisure or recreation. Such a sociological organization of the curriculum would bring about a better balance among home life, citizenship, economic life, health, leisure as studies in the curriculum. Furthermore, it would ensure an adequate allotment of school time to recreational activities. The proposed reorganization, if it comes at all, will come very slowly. In the meantime, in building curricula of schools and individual programs of pupils, the administrator will have to allot an increased amount of time to those existing subjects which are predominantly recreational in their function. What portion of the total curriculum shall be assigned to leisure? Shall it be one fourth, one fifth, one sixth? Nobody knows.

We have suggested that the curriculum as a whole should be balanced. It is also important that a certain amount of recreational symmetry should be maintained in designing the individual leisure course for the individual pupil. We suggest what is perhaps an oversimplified formula: No pupil should be permitted to complete his formal schooling until he has developed at least one intellectual hobby, one aesthetic hobby, one physical hobby, and one handicraft. This suggestion will be elaborated later on, although the analysis will not be classified in exactly the same way.

The objectives of leisure will have to be studied comprehensively. At the present time it might be worth while to make a synthesis of existing studies of the recreational interests and activities of human beings on all age levels. A major original investigation of the variety and multiplicity of recreational activities of the people, if it could be carried out, would give a clue to the recreational program in the schools. An analysis and organization of the general treatises on education for leisure would be helpful. Perhaps the most fruitful immediate results might come from a nation-wide tour of inspection of promising recreational programs of any sort wherever they may be found. Today, the study of leisure education is the greatest challenge to the educational foundations, to the major educational so-

cieties, to the bureaus of educational research, and to candidates for advanced degrees in education.

A specific and detailed recreational program is impossible within the limits of this paper. We shall have to confine ourselves to certain basic considerations and to general proposals in fields which are conspicuously in need of attention.

Very early in the process of building a curriculum of leisure it will be necessary to delimit the function of the school. The most comprehensive educational plan for leisure would not include many of the normal recreational activities of life. Tentatively, the following leisure pursuits seem to be beyond the scope of the leisure program:

1. Those adequately learned outside, as bridge, or those that involve no learning, as attending lodge meetings
2. Those that are relatively antisocial or otherwise undesirable, as gambling
3. Those that are more commonly associated with the academic subjects, as reading French novels
4. Those that are relatively difficult to learn in school or in the community, as playing the organ
5. Those that are relatively uncommon because of the complexity of the activity or the inaccessibility of equipment, as collecting rare books and first editions
6. Those for which the school has no learning techniques, such as "having dates"

#### A PROGRAM OF EDUCATION FOR LEISURE

There are a number of guiding principles which should be borne in mind, generally, in planning a school program. These principles grow out of a consideration of certain common weaknesses in the existing program.

1. The school should set aside a substantial part of the curriculum specifically for cultivating recreational habits.
2. The school should emphasize the development of active recreational activities as opposed to passive activities.
3. The school should develop recreational habits to be practised in the home as opposed to the commercialized amusement place.
4. The schools should stress all forms of recreation that take persons out into the country.
5. In the field of physical education the school should develop skill in those activities in which they will very likely participate in life, such as swimming, walking, skating, camping, etc.
6. The leisure activities in the schools should be learned under pleasant circumstances.



7. More than ever, the new leisure demands that the school shall cultivate the enjoyment of creative activity to balance or supplement work.

8. For the general student, the school studies which have recreational possibilities should be treated usually from the point of view of the consumer, frequently, from the point of view of the amateur producer, but never from the professional point of view.

9. The recreational program should be individualized. Each pupil's recreational habits will depend upon his mental and physical nature, the facilities in his home and neighborhood, the voluntary youth organizations to which he belongs, and the out-of-school special training which he receives.

10. The recreational program should be free from prizes, awards, or other forms of external motivation. Such practice does not conform to the individual satisfaction and creative joy that commonly actuate most of the normal leisure activities.

#### PHYSICAL RECREATIONS

We are now ready to consider the various aspects of leisure as they relate to the school. For some time, the program of physical education on all levels of education has been giving greater attention to physical exercise as it relates to the recreational activities of lay persons. The most common forms of physical activity have been slowest in gaining a place in the curriculum and, in many schools, they are still greatly neglected. It should be recognized at the outset that nearly all the sports and games are dependent upon grounds and equipment, the installation of which should be advocated constantly. In the absence of playing fields and equipment, the resourceful school officer will arrange for the use of private facilities during the school day when they are ordinarily idle.

*Sports.* Of a half-dozen studies of the outside recreational activities of youths and adults, the following sports commonly neglected in the school are the most popular: golf, walking (hiking), tennis, swimming, volley ball, playground ball, dancing, skating, outings and camping, gardening, fishing, and handball. Here is a program of physical exercise which would excel everything now offered from the point of view of social value. It would require flexibility of administration, more time, special arrangements for equipment and facilities, and a good deal of

initiative, but it would give the greatest assurance of effective results.

*Water Sports.* It is estimated that there are more than 3,500 public and private swimming pools in the United States, and bathing beaches are found in 408 cities. The number of outdoor swimming pools increased rapidly in the last decade, there being a total of 985 in 1930. A study which included 410 cities showed that 23 per cent of the schools reported that they maintained swimming pools. There are no data showing the percentage of the millions of bathers who cannot swim. That swimming, water sports, and beach activities are universal is evident to any observer. If all persons could swim, if all persons were resourceful in all forms of water and beach activities, there would be no challenge to the schools. Unfortunately, this is not the case. In view of the important rôle that water sports play in leisure, their recognition is coming entirely too slowly.

*Outdoors.* The automobile has increased the availability and popularity of outdoor recreation. In 1930, 186 cities reported 381 outlying parks. More than half of the States have reserved lands for recreational use. The National Government maintains 22 parks and the National forests occupy a combined area of over 185,000,000 acres. Both the State and National Governments provide facilities for campers and tourists. The National Government has set aside 1,750 camp grounds with sanitary facilities. Although millions have used these advantages, we have by no means exhausted the possibilities of camping and outdoor life for the great masses of urban dwellers. The schools should embark on a large-scale program of camping, picnicing, hiking, mountain climbing, boating, swimming and beach activities.

At the present time, there is no systematic program of school journeys and learning experiences in connection with these parks. It is extremely important to balance the industrial life of urban inhabitants by activities which take them frequently into the country at all seasons of the year. The school needs first to provide the transportation; sec-

ond, to organize a systematic schedule of journeys at convenient intervals; and third, to build up a broad program of outdoor recreation, including woodcraft, camping, and nature education. The establishment of camps for overnight lodging of groups of children and youths has made little headway in this country. Here European practice furnishes an excellent example. In Germany there are about 2,200 "youth hostels" or lodges maintained by an association of 130,000 members. In 1930 over 4,000,000 young people were accommodated in these lodges. The British Youth Hostels Association maintains about 80 hostels for walkers and cyclists.

#### ARTS AND CRAFTS

*Arts.* There is no satisfactory study of the art activities of the people. Most of our conclusions, therefore, must be pieced together from fragmentary data and from certain obvious conditions. In general, the aesthetic life of the individual may be divided into two parts: first, that of the amateur producer of art; and, second, that of the user of art products.

As a creator of art the lay person may work in the following fields: painting, the graphic arts, plastic art, photography, textiles, metal, wood, weaving, interior decoration, costume designing, and a variety of minor arts. These fields involve many hundreds of particular media of expression. They involve highly satisfying creative and constructive activities which enrich leisure and possess genuine utility. The few highly specialized courses for the gifted pupil should be supplemented by general courses for the many who may wish to dabble in any process or medium for the pleasure of it. Since the aim is frankly recreational it will not be necessary to set up rigorous technical standards of excellence.

As a consumer of art, the lay person buys clothing, textiles, and jewelry to adorn his person; he buys pictures, floor coverings, furniture, hangings, lamps, tableware, and other art objects to decorate his home; he enjoys printing, photography, and illustrations in books, newspapers, and

periodicals; he arranges his garden; and he purchases an endless stream of commodities for their aesthetic value. These are predominantly recreational pursuits although not exclusively so. On every hand he is surrounded by architectural forms on which he is constantly making aesthetic observations. The machine has made simple objects of art available to the great masses and has created a vastly larger field of new appreciations. The school thus far has not made the most of its opportunities in this area of human experience. The departments of home economics and manual arts should give more attention to the evaluation of articles in daily use in the home.

A museum may be found in every city of more than 250,000 inhabitants. Some museums report an attendance of as high as 75 per cent of the total population of the community. Classes should make periodic visits to museums where they are accessible. Schools and classrooms should avail themselves of traveling exhibits and these should be made the basis of study.

*Crafts.* Casual reference was made to handicrafts in the last section, but here we should give attention to the many opportunities for creative activity in the construction and repair of things found in and about the home. These activities may be a source of great satisfaction, particularly to the great mass of persons destined to engage in sedentary occupations. The practical arts in the past have been dominated by the point of view of industry. The advent of the new leisure will emphasize more than ever the importance of practical skills for home use. The practical-arts shops will have to be redesigned to include a variety of facilities for the performance of the common constructive and repair tasks of the layman. The impending leisure is as much a challenge to the teachers of practical arts as it is to any other departments of the school. The few important groups of skills which have recreational possibilities are woodwork, painting and refinishing, simple plumbing, gardening, picture framing, simple plastering, brick and cement work, upholstering, electrical work, repair of household appliances, decoration, repair of leather,

china, and rubber articles, repair of automobiles, bench metal work, and sheet-metal work. Over half a dozen surveys of the actual tasks performed by youths and adults in the home show that handicrafts are universal. These are leisure activities and can be enriched and made more effective by enlarging and reorganizing the industrial-arts program in the elementary and secondary school.

The home-economics curriculum will have to be revised to make a place for enjoyable home activities. From several studies of the actual occupations of women and girls in the home and from a few courses of study, we have selected the following list of activities that have recreational possibilities: designing and making garments; remodeling garments; designing and making scarfs, runners, draperies, and other furnishings; interior decoration; dyeing, stenciling, blocking, batiking, and related processes; designing and making costumes, decorating utensils; weaving mats and rugs; canning and baking. The physical setting for the leisure household arts will not follow the old formal patterns. It will very likely be a general laboratory or workshop equipped for a variety of homecrafts and in which many different projects will be pursued at the same time. It will have an amateur atmosphere and will be predominantly recreational.

#### MUSIC AND THE DRAMA

*Music.* The school's music program is making headway and requires no special consideration. However, it is necessary at this time to emphasize radio music and group music, both vocal and instrumental. The radio has raised music appreciation to a position of primary importance as a leisure activity. There are probably fifteen million receiving sets in the homes of our country. Every person is now a potential listener to music. In order to understand and enjoy the many musical programs broadcast daily, every pupil ought to have some knowledge of the form of musical compositions and some knowledge of the vocabulary of musical literature. The cultivation of musical taste was never so important as it has become since the advent of

radio. The present standard of radio, as judged by casual listening and by careful records, is undeniably low. If, as Mr. Duffus has suggested in *The Arts in American Life*, radio is the thermometer of musical tastes, then the patient is not altogether well. Analyses of actual programs show that from two to five times as much time is devoted to popular music as is devoted to classical music.

In the schools and colleges interest in group music has increased in the last decade. The United States Office of Education reported that in 1928 nearly 4,000 high schools, or about 27 per cent of the total reporting, had courses in instrumental music. Besides, group music is found in churches, settlements, clubs, camps, and industrial establishments. In 1931, the National Federation of Music Clubs consisted of 4,762 clubs with a combined membership of 400,000 persons. Many lodges maintain successful bands, orchestras, and choruses that play a leading rôle in the musical life of their communities. Thousands of service clubs have general singing at their meetings, although they are greatly lacking in subject matter and musical quality. The singing of commercialized popular songs is universal, although here, too, there is a real need for improvement. Any man who cannot see a social justification for every form of musical education simply does not know what the school is about.

Group music, vocal and instrumental, should be cultivated as an integral part of community pageants, festivals, and celebrations. American folk life at the present time is bare, but it is in the process of development. The chorus and orchestra in school and out of school should be coördinated with the mass recreational life of a town or neighborhood. Ideally, a community should conduct four great festivals each year, one for each season: a spring festival, a summer water festival, a harvest festival, and a winter festival of light. The drama, the dance, and athletic sports should be joined in these presentations. These coöperative recreational enterprises should take the place of the present widespread music competitions.

*Cinema.* The cinema is undoubtedly the most common

form of recreation for children and adults. The annual output of feature films is about 500, with about 200 prints of each. The Committee on Educational Research of the Payne Fund estimates a national weekly attendance of 77,000,000, of whom 36 per cent are children and adolescents. The films which they see pertain chiefly to romantic love, sex, and crime. In this department the school has the responsibility of maintaining a high literary, dramatic, and artistic standard in its own exhibitions. In the upper grades it is appropriate for the school to include motion-picture criticism and appreciation based upon current productions of the highest merit.

*Drama.* In the theater the school has two outstanding functions in a new program for leisure: first, to improve dramatic taste, and second, to advance the little-theater movement. Kenneth Macgowan found that the percentage of successes of plays was 23 per cent as compared with 63 per cent for musical comedies and 50 per cent for revues. It is our own estimate that not more than 5 per cent of all the patrons of the theater attend the so-called legitimate plays. The school should cultivate an interest in those dramatic presentations which represent the highest standards of art according to competent opinion.

The greatest promise for artistic growth in the theater today is to be found in the little-theater movement consisting of hundreds of organizations of amateur and semi-professional players. Kenneth Macgowan, who made a tour of the United States, reports that there were in 1929 approximately 200 amateur theaters which produce at least four plays a year and about 1,000 more organizations which produce at least two plays a year. About a third of the high schools, about 7,000 in number, have courses in play production, including scene design, costume design, acting, and playwriting. The members of the amateur theatrical groups have been recruited from our secondary schools and our colleges and should continue to be encouraged by all educational institutions. It is not uncommon, today, to see highly artistic dramatic performances in the high schools and colleges of many communities representing original

efforts in all the departments of the theater. The drama offers an exceptional opportunity to coördinate literature, music, scenes, art, costume design, and lighting.

*The Dance.* In 1931 it was estimated that there were 500,000 students of the dance and 5,000 teachers. More than a million were studying ballroom dancing. Whereas formerly ballroom dancing was most popular, there is evidence of a tendency toward interpretive dancing, creative dancing, folk dancing, and tap dancing. Whereas in 1920 there were no American periodicals devoted to the dance, there is now a reported combined circulation of 31,000. For the mass of youths, it is our opinion that the jazz era has individualized dancing. The popular dance should be socialized, that is, variations of the dance should be introduced to bring about a freer association of all persons attending a dancing entertainment. A revival of the folk dance may accomplish this purpose, but a more effective procedure would be to introduce group variations of the two-step and waltz. In the field of the dance the school has not yet made the most of its opportunities. The new emphasis upon leisure gives it an excellent basis for renewed zeal in a highly worthy recreational field.

#### OTHER RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

*Recreational Reading.* A program of recreational reading requires that every school shall maintain a library directed by a trained librarian preferably in coöperation with public libraries. In 1929 there were a little less than 2,000 school libraries in the whole of the United States. In any case, the language activities should emphasize extensive recreational reading to a very large degree.

The daily press and periodical literature make up a considerable part of the reading material of adolescents and adults. The daily press has a circulation close to 40,000,000 and the circulation of certain selected magazines is equally large. Much of the recreational reading program should be devoted to selections from the literary journals, news magazines, and the journals of public opinion.

*Discussion Groups.* Hundreds of discussion groups have



sprung up spontaneously among business men, workingmen, and professional men. Besides, study groups and reading circles among women have existed for a long time. The service clubs like the Rotary Club have given rise to many luncheon-discussion groups. Forums for the free discussion of public questions have flourished for some time in a number of cities. The techniques of conducting public discussions have been developed and described in a number of publications. It is highly probable that group discussion will become more general. It promises to become a fruitful leisure activity, at least among literate and civic-minded persons. The school can cultivate an interest in public affairs and a mastery of the technique of group discussion.

*Informal Group Entertainment.* Informal small-group entertainment is one of the most common and one of the most satisfying forms of recreation. The degree to which the school shall interest itself in this phase of leisure is not certain. In certain backward schools and communities, small informal parties, in which learning does not obtrude, would be a desirable as well as a humanizing activity. Whether it is curricular or extracurricular is beside the point. What really counts is an atmosphere of relaxation and spontaneous enjoyment. Small social gatherings are particularly appropriate in schools that are equipped with home-economics suites. The social conventions and the various group games are most naturally and most effectively learned in this setting. These, however, may also be learned in special recreation periods set aside for this purpose.

#### CONCLUSIONS

To recapitulate, our curriculum recommendations for the new leisure follow:

The school should assign an increased amount of time to those existing subjects which are predominantly recreational in their function.

Upon completing his formal schooling, the pupil should have developed at least one intellectual hobby, one aesthetic hobby, one physical hobby, and one handicraft.

As far as possible, the new playing fields and equipment for recreational purposes should be contiguous with the public-school buildings.

The most common physical recreations of youths and adults which are now neglected in the schools are golf, walking, tennis, swimming, volley ball, playground ball, dancing, skating, outings and camping, gardening, fishing, and handball.

In view of the important rôle that water sports play in leisure, they should be given a greater emphasis in the physical-education program.

The schools should embark on a large-scale program of camping, picnicing, hiking, mountain climbing, boating, swimming, and beach activities.

The school should provide opportunities for amateur creative work in the following fields: painting, graphic art, plastic art, photography, textiles, metal, woodworking, weaving, interior decoration, costume designing, and a variety of minor arts.

The program of art appreciation should anticipate the following activities of the lay person as a consumer: the purchase of clothing, textiles, and jewelry to adorn his person; the purchase of pictures, floor coverings, furniture, hangings, lamps, tableware, and other art objects to decorate his home; and the enjoyment of printing, photography, and illustrations.

The program of leisure education should concern itself with the following important skills which have recreational possibilities: woodwork, painting and refinishing, simple plumbing, gardening, picture framing, simple plastering, brick and cement work, upholstering, electrical work, repair of household appliances, decoration, repair of leather, china, and rubber articles, repair of automobiles, bench metal work, and sheet-metal work.

In order to understand and enjoy the many musical programs broadcast daily, every pupil ought to have some knowledge of the form of musical compositions and of the vocabulary of musical literature.

With respect to the theater, the school has two outstanding functions: to improve dramatic taste and to advance the little-theater movement.

The school should put increasing emphasis upon interpretive dancing, creative dancing, folk dancing, and socialized dancing in the program of leisure education.

It is possible for the school to promote the present interest in group discussion by cultivating an interest in public affairs and including practice in the technique of group discussion.

## RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

### SLUMS AND HOUSING POLICY

A comprehensive analytical study of the problem of slums and housing policy has just been started for the Phelps-Stokes Fund by Professor James Ford, of the department of sociology of Harvard University. This research will cover the causes of slums, their prevention, and will deal with problems of land acquisition, slum demolition, and rebuilding of slum areas. This is undertaken with particular reference to the conditions and needs of New York City. George N. Thompson, recently assistant chief of the Division of Building and Housing of the United States Bureau of Standards, will serve as associate director. Mr. I. N. Phelps Stokes, chairman of the Housing Committee of the Phelps-Stokes Fund, will also coöperate.

Some incidental field investigations will be made of the needs, standards, and rent-paying capacity of families to be cared for in new housing in present slum areas. Special emphasis will be upon economic factors in replanning and rehousing.

The office for the investigation is at 101 Park Avenue, New York City, in connection with the office of the Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership.

### EDUCATIONAL ENQUIRY STUDIES

A statement as to the research projects now being carried on in the Division of Educational Enquiry of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching follows:<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This statement has been provided through the courtesy of Howard J. Savage, secretary of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, 522 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

*Organization and administration*—under the direction of the late Dr. Henry Suzzallo, president, and Howard J. Savage, secretary.

Higher education and the economic situation, and related topics: material published in the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Foundation; in *The State and Higher Education—Phases of the Relationship*, in coöperation with the United States Office of Education, prepared by Dr. Fred J. Kelly, chief, Division of Colleges and Professional Schools, and John H. McNeely, research assistant, issued February 8, 1933; in a study of *Economy in Higher Education* prepared by Dr. David S. Hill, staff associate, Carnegie Foundation, and Dr. Fred J. Kelly, of the United States Office of Education, issued April 20, 1933; and in a study of systems of control of tax-supported higher education in the United States now being pursued by Dr. Hill.

The Foundation's study of *State Higher Education in California* was published by the California Bureau of Publications and Documents, Sacramento, in 1932.

*The curriculum and the learning process*—under the direction of Dr. William S. Learned, staff member, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

The relation of secondary and higher education in Pennsylvania, in coöperation with the Association of College Presidents in Pennsylvania and the Pennsylvania State Department of Education; begun in 1927 and to continue until 1935 probably; progress reports issued from time to time.

*Local provision for higher education in Saskatchewan*, by Dr. William S. Learned and Chancellor E. W. Wallace, of Victoria University, Toronto; results published in Bulletin No. 27 of the Foundation, January 1933.

*Professional education*—under the direction of Dr. Alfred Z. Reed, staff member, Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching.

Study of legal education: The current *Annual Review of Legal Education*, issued in the spring of 1933.

Comparative studies of professional education: preliminary report contained in the Twenty-seventh Annual Report of the Foundation.

#### EFFECTS OF PLAY AREA

A study recently completed has the following title: "Effect of Play Areas of Philadelphia Bureau of Recreation Centers, on Rate of Male Delinquents, Aged 16 to 20 Years Inclusive."<sup>1</sup> The source of the statistics for this study was the Crime Prevention Bureau, Department of Police.

The Bureau of Recreation of Philadelphia consists of thirty-eight centers and twenty-one swimming pools not situated in any of the above centers. Twenty of the centers were not supervised during September, October, and November of 1932, but were supervised during June, July, and August of the same year. The other eighteen centers were supervised during the entire six-month period of the study.

Play areas have not been taken into account separately, but are considered as a whole, due to irregular opening and closing. The play areas of the Board of Education, Philadelphia Playgrounds Association, Smith Memorial Playgrounds, and the boys' clubs and settlement houses were open only in the summer months of July and August.

A summary of the most important findings of this study follows:

1. A six per cent *decrease* in delinquency in the fall months as compared to the summer months
2. Sixty-five per cent of the 4,960 cases studied were found to be living *within 8 blocks* of some bureau of recreation center
3. That the 20 partially supervised centers showed that during the supervised months of June, July, and August 34 per cent of the delinquents lived within 8 blocks of the centers, and for the unsupervised months of September, October, and November, for the same centers, only 32 per cent. A comparison of the 18 centers that were supervised for the entire six months showed 33 per cent for the summer months, 30 per cent for the fall months. Supervision of the Bureau's centers does not, therefore, have any effect upon the rate of delinquency
4. That a ten per cent *increase* in delinquency of *boys living over 8 blocks* from a recreation center in the fall months over the summer months may be attributed to the closing of the Board of Education's

<sup>1</sup>This statement has been furnished through the courtesy of Mr. Herman Balen, who made the study.

playgrounds, the play areas of the Philadelphia Playgrounds Association, and the twenty-one swimming pools of the Bureau of Recreation not situated in any of the Bureau's playgrounds

5. On the average there is a regular increase in the percentage of delinquency as the place of residence is further away from the playground up to a distance of four blocks and then there is a symmetrical decrease in the rate to 8 blocks away from the centers. This is not true for each individual center

6. That the proportion of white boys arrested to Negroes is three to one. But according to the Negro population as compared with the white population, the probability of a Negro being arrested to that of a white boy is two to one

7. That in the 16- to 21-year age group, 19-year-old boys were arrested most frequently

8. That old sections of Philadelphia show the highest rates of delinquency

9. That older boys are arrested frequently outside of their own home neighborhood, and that this may vary according to the stimulus provided

10. That 60 per cent of the offenses included

- a) Corner lounging
- b) Disorderly conduct
- c) Assault and battery by auto
- d) Predatory delinquencies
- e) Malicious mischief

11. That an average of 44 per cent of all the delinquents were discharged during the six-month period

12. That 10.6 per cent of the delinquents had no home in the city or claimed residences outside of the city

## TEACHERS AND PARENTS STUDY CHILDREN'S BEHAVIORS

RUTH H. MACCLENATHAN

Principal, Brooklyn Elementary School, San Diego

The Brooklyn School of San Diego, as other elementary schools in middle-class neighborhoods, has always had its quota of maladjusted children. Types range from the hot-headed, the rude, the bumptious, who are usually in trouble on the grounds and often in the classroom, to the sensitive and the shy. In every kindergarten and first-grade room there are always a few children who have been the center of an adoring circle of adults at home and have come to school with no fixed habits of obedience or attention. If the school is able to establish coöperative relationships with the home, and especially if a visiting teacher, a psychiatric case worker, can give considerable time and energy to the *handling of individual cases*, most of the usual maladjustments can be either eliminated or greatly improved. But prosperity vanishes, budgets shrink, classes are enlarged, burdens grow larger, and case loads become too heavy for successful outcomes.

In this dilemma it occurred to the writer that a solution of the difficulty might lie in her own administration. Might it not be possible that too much energy was continually given to dealing with individual cases and too little to the backgrounds that produced many similar difficulties? Might not a group of sympathetic, understanding parents give us insights into the child's life away from the school? If properly oriented, might they not send better adjusted children to school? Also, might they not act as leaders in the parent-education movement and give the school a group of valuable friends prepared to interpret modern children and modern education to the community at large?

Early in the fall semester of 1930, the Brooklyn School

saw the organization of a mothers' child-study class. The group met two hours weekly during a greater part of the year under the joint leadership of a mother and the writer. The personnel consisted largely of progressive community leaders, several of whom were university graduates, all selected for their ability to make an impersonal study of child behavior. From the start the group read widely, studied seriously, and discussed freely.

We discovered Wickman's excellent book, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. It was decided to use this book as a guide and to study the attitudes of both teachers and parents to normal child behavior. Our purpose was to improve a local situation. It was definitely an experiment in self-education and in the interpretation of modern ideas on child behavior to the faculty and to representative members of the community.

During the course of the experiment the mothers' child-study class met regularly two hours each week. The teachers devoted their regular meetings almost exclusively to this project. Each group proceeded at its own pace in its own way. It was clearly understood that no one of us was to impose opinions, but that the leader would encourage thought and try to elicit an expression on all points of view and, at the conclusion of each discussion, would summarize the results and emphasize the high points of the study to date.

#### STEPS IN THE TEACHER STUDY

I. The first step in our study was of necessity a definition of terms. What is behavior? What implications of social relationship are inherent in this simple word? Following Wickman's lead, we took Webster's definition and then Wickman's own as a basis for approach. At our first meeting mimeographed copies of the following definitions were given each teacher:

"Behavior applies to our mode of behaving in the presence of others or toward them."—Webster.

"Behavior, in the social sense in which it is employed, is a socially evaluated, socially regularized product; and behavior problems repre-



sent conflicts between individual behavior and social requirements for behavior."—Wickman.

"It is to be noted that the very existence of a behavior problem is designated by personal or social attitude."—Wickman.

These statements provided the basis for active and clarifying discussion. We brought out the point that behavior involves people other than oneself—that if we could think and act in such a way that others were not affected it would not be behavior.

II. *Types of misbehavior or unusual behavior encountered.* The next step in our study was to discover the kinds of conduct considered misbehavior or unusual behavior by the Brooklyn teachers. Following is the sheet of directions given each teacher:

*Brooklyn's Study of Children's Behavior*

This questionnaire is the second step in our study of the behavior of children. We want first of all to discover what kinds of child behavior are undesirable.

Will you, therefore, list all the specific kinds of misbehavior or unusual behavior which you have encountered in your entire teaching experience. List only *kinds* of misbehavior, not *causes*. Make your answers as brief as possible, such as "truancy." Do not use the name of any child.

Please do not confer with any one before you have turned in your paper. We want each person's opinion unbiased by consultation. Please make your list on this sheet, using both sides.

Please hand this questionnaire to the secretary in a sealed envelope before 5 p. m. tomorrow. Please star all types of misbehavior that you have encountered this year at Brooklyn.

A list of over one hundred misbehavior traits was assembled. Many of the items submitted were different ways of expressing the same idea. Some of the items could be grouped under a more general head. The writer realized that the list as it stood was unwieldy, so he organized and condensed it into a list of fifty traits, attempting at the same time to include the idea of every form of misbehavior listed by the teachers.

III. *Seriousness and frequency of behavior types.* Having now a bird's-eye view of misconduct according to the standards of the Brooklyn teachers, our next step was to

obtain the teachers' evaluation of each type of behavior listed. For this purpose a questionnaire (not reproduced here) was used.

All of the types of undesirable or unusual behavior reported earlier were compiled into the alphabetical list which follows:

*Teachers' List of Undesirable Modes of Behavior*

- |                                     |                             |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 1. Aggressiveness                   | 26. Lack of self-confidence |
| 2. Being silly                      | 27. Lying                   |
| 3. Babyish habits                   | 28. Masturbation            |
| 4. Bullying                         | 29. Meddling                |
| 5. Carelessness in dress            | 30. Moral cowardice         |
| 6. Cheating                         | 31. Nervousness             |
| 7. Contrariness                     | 32. Obscenity               |
| 8. Cruelty                          | 33. Physical cowardice      |
| 9. Desire for attention             | 34. Retaliation             |
| 10. Destructiveness                 | 35. Self-consciousness      |
| 11. Enuresis                        | 36. Selfishness             |
| 12. Fear                            | 37. Shyness                 |
| 13. Fighting                        | 38. Smoking                 |
| 14. Idleness                        | 39. Stealing                |
| 15. Inattention                     | 40. Stubbornness            |
| 16. Indifference                    | 41. Sulking                 |
| 17. Interest in other sex           | 42. Swearing                |
| 18. Irritability                    | 43. Tardiness               |
| 19. Jealousy                        | 44. Teasing                 |
| 20. Lack of concentration           | 45. Temper outbursts        |
| 21. Lack of coöperation             | 46. Truancy                 |
| 22. Lack of courtesy                | 47. Unresponsiveness        |
| 23. Lack of perseverance            | 48. Unsocialness            |
| 24. Lack of respect for authority   | 49. Wastefulness            |
| 25. Lack of sense of responsibility | 50. Whispering              |

These fifty modes of behavior were marked by the teachers to show the relative frequency of occurrence among their pupils and also to what degree the child's social adjustment was seriously affected.

IV. *The composite of various behavior patterns* (omitted in this article).

V. *Study of each pupil's total behavior.* Having now gained a wider understanding of the meaning of behavior, our next step was to obtain, if possible, a picture of each

pupil's general social adjustment. Accordingly, each teacher was given a typed list of all the pupils in her room and asked to class each child's total behavior under the following heads: (1) extremely well-adjusted behavior; (2) having only minor difficulties; (3) behavior difficulties of some importance; (4) extremely serious behavior problems. The point was made that we were not rating faults but a child's total adjustment to society. Children falling into the last two classes were then grouped for further study.

VI. *Characteristics of the badly adjusted group.* In the school of six hundred and twenty-five children, one hundred and twenty-three were selected by (3) and (4) of step V as having grave personality problems or problems of considerable difficulty. The following list indicates the kinds of difficulties prevalent in this group, with the frequency of mention by teachers. Only the fifteen of greater frequency are here listed.

<i>Trait</i>	<i>Frequency of Mention</i>
Inattention .....	74
Whispering .....	69
Lack of sense of responsibility.....	64
Lack of perseverance.....	63
Lack of concentration.....	63
Idleness .....	54
Desire for attention.....	46
Lack of courtesy.....	46
Lack of respect for authority.....	40
Being silly .....	35
Indifference .....	34
Nervousness .....	32
Aggressiveness .....	32
Unresponsiveness .....	30
Fighting .....	29

The teachers noted that the first six items on the list were all behavior habits for which the school might well be held responsible. The question arose: May it not be that despite our growth towards socialization in our elementary schools, we are still failing to make our programs sufficiently varied, flexible, and adapted to the needs of many varieties of temperaments and mentalities?

VII. *The child-study group contributes.* Following, in general, the same steps as those described for the teachers, the group of mothers in the child-study class finally put the results of their thinking into tabular form. They viewed some of it with surprise and began to compare their findings with the teachers' and to speculate as to the possible causes of difference. As we studied these differences we began to wonder how misbehavior would be judged by the mother whose thinking had not been colored by reading and by group study in the field of child psychology. It was decided that we would get the opinions of a small group of mothers who possessed but a casual knowledge of the subject as far as we knew. As the school year was drawing to a close, it was too late to go through the whole process. Accordingly seven alert, progressive mothers, not members of the study class, were asked to rate the misbehavior traits compiled by the child-study class. This was readily arranged and their opinions were compiled into a table designated as "Parents." This method had certain disadvantages as the study-class list contained items which otherwise probably would not have appeared on the "Parents" list—such items, for example, as introversion, superiority complex, inferiority complex.

VIII. *Comparison of the three groups* (Tables I, II, III). We now had three separate studies—a listing of misbehavior; a rating of the same for seriousness and frequency by both the child-study class and the teachers; and a rating of the child-study-class list by other mothers. Both the teachers and the child-study class desired a joint meeting at which they could question each other, compare results, express opinions, and attempt to interpret the graphs in terms of present trends of improvement in home and school cooperation for the welfare of the child. As the spirit of each group was friendly and impersonal, the writer felt that we could attempt such a meeting with perfect success and we did. The teachers invited the child-study class to their regular Monday meeting, where mothers and teachers indulged in free discussion of their different reactions to various behavior traits.

A compilation of the fifty types of undesirable behavior shows that the teachers listed the ten in Table I as the most serious. The attitudes of the child-study group and of other parents are shown in the adjoining columns.

TABLE I

<i>Mode of Behavior</i>	<i>Teachers' Rank</i>	<i>Child-Study-Group Rank</i>	<i>Unselected Parents' Rank</i>
Stealing .....	1	1	1
Temper outbursts .....	2	18	4
Masturbation .....	3	7	21
Nervousness .....	4	40	25
Lack of respect for authority	5	25	8
Cruelty .....	6	0	0
Lying .....	7	11	2
Fear .....	8	15	31
Obscenity .....	9	0	0
Lack of responsibility.....	10	2	23

This table was of paramount value to teachers and parents. All were interested to note that it shows the usual middle-class respect for property rights. Of all the varied modes of misbehavior, there was close agreement on the heinousness of stealing. Lying stands second in uniformity of attitude, being rated seventh in seriousness by teachers, eleventh by the study group, and second by unselected parents. The table also shows that teachers tend to call types of conduct by harsher names than parents use. Although cruelty and obscenity appear among the first ten of the teachers' listings, they do not appear at all on either group of parental listings.

The attitude towards nervousness showed the greatest variation and called for lengthy comment. These questions arose: Is it possible that our school routine is too severe for some children, possibly due to the pressure for scholastic accomplishment and the keen competition of the modern classroom? Is this nervousness noted by the teachers due to the tension resulting from large numbers in classrooms. The fact that nervousness was rated fortieth on a list of fifty items by the selected mothers in the child-study group would tend to show that their children did not exhibit marked nervousness at home. This comparison of the relative demands of the home and school brought us to the

heart of our problems; since parents and teachers caught glimpses of the differences in behavior patterns evoked by different social settings.

The ten most serious modes of misbehavior listed by the child-study group and comparisons with the ratings of teachers and unselected parents are shown in Table II.

TABLE II

<i>Mode of Behavior</i>	<i>Child-Study-Group Rank</i>	<i>Teachers' Rank</i>	<i>Unselected Parents' Rank</i>
Stealing .....	1	1	1
Lack of responsibility.....	2	10	23
Selfishness .....	3	38	3
Lack of coöperation.....	4	18	15
Poor sportsmanship .....	5	11	9
Jealousy .....	6	36	24
Masturbation .....	7	3	21
Lack of consideration.....	8	22	36
Lack of courtesy.....	9	33	16
Lack of self-confidence.....	10	21	38

Here we have, as teachers and parents readily observed, a fairly complete picture of the kinds of behavior that handicap or disqualify a person seeking membership in the usual upper middle-class social groups. Unconsciously these mothers of the child-study group, many of them college graduates, all leaders in various civic and social groups, reflected in this study the very attitudes that form the core of their own everyday lives. That, of course, was the original purpose; namely, to have parents interpret to teachers and teachers interpret to parents habitual attitudes towards behavior problems. The unselected group of parents, being less concerned with some of the preoccupations of the other group of parents, shows rather wide disagreement in its evaluations. The closest agreement comes in the attitude towards sportsmanship, probably a typically American social attitude.

In similar fashion the ten most serious modes of misbehavior were listed by the unselected parents and were compared with the ratings of the teachers and the child-study group in Table III.

TABLE III

<i>Mode of Behavior</i>	<i>Unselected Parents' Rank</i>	<i>Teachers' Rank</i>	<i>Child-Study- Group Rank</i>
Stealing .....	1	1	1
Lying .....	2	7	11
Selfishness .....	3	38	3
Temper outbursts .....	4	2	18
Greediness .....	5	0	28
Irritability .....	6	28	13
Idleness .....	7	13	27
Lack of respect for authority	8	5	25
Poor sportsmanship .....	9	11	5
Aggressiveness .....	10	35	32

In this listing there was obvious emphasis on the behavior patterns required for successful family and home relationships. It is interesting to notice that the ratings of unselected parents show wide variations from those made by teachers and parents whose daily affairs tend to separate them from routine home relationships and to lay stress on wider group contacts.

The cardinal tendency brought out by the study of the three tables certainly is that each group tends to rank as most serious those behavior patterns interfering most with the smooth functioning of that group's affairs. The opinion developed in the groups was that it is not surprising that children have difficulty in adjusting themselves to the varying situations of their home, community, and school environments. The recognition of this conflict in teacher and parent demands was the high point reached in this experiment in interpretation.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Contemporary Religious Thinking: Seventeen Sermons on the Church's Responsibilities in the Period Just Ahead*, edited by ROBERT W. SEARLE and FREDERICK A. BOWERS. New York: Falcon Press, 1933, 212 pages.

A collection of seventeen sermons compiled as one answer to the question: In the midst of the great national, economical, racial problems will the Church meet the challenge? The reader will find that these eminent religious leaders in the regular church sermons are grappling with life and yet speak with courage.

*Religion Today, A Challenging Enigma*, compiled by ARTHUR SWIFT. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1933, 300 pages.

This book is a compilation of a series of lectures on religion presented in 1932 at the New School for Social Research in New York City. The purpose of the lectures was to bring forth basic facts and opinions concerning religion in order that the students might face for themselves the various points of view of the problems and draw their own conclusions. Religion is faced not in traditional ways and by religious leaders only, but from the points of view of historian, psychoanalyst, philosopher, sociologist, and religionist.

*The Meaning of Right and Wrong*, by RICHARD C. CABOT. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 963 pages.

Dr. Cabot's new book on ethics is based upon a framework of right and wrong constructed out of materials gathered directly from life and not from books. His main theses are: Ethics rests on the study of consistency, growth, and self-deceit; facts are either faced and so produce growth or evaded and lead to self-deceit; stability and change are twin principles of growth but are valueless without application or implication.

*Modern Woman and Sex*, by RACHELLE S. YARRAS. New York: Vanguard Press, 1933, 218 pages.

This is a refreshingly sane, well-balanced, and modern presentation of the sex hunger and its place in life. The author's point of view is that marriage as an institution is fundamentally sound but that the lack of educational preparation for it, and the fact that we have long demanded of it things impossible for any institution to yield, together with the lack of appreciation of the complexities of this relationship in our modern world, are factors that are responsible for the many things wrong with this relationship.



*Adjustment and Mastery*, by R. S. WOODWORTH. Baltimore, Maryland: The Williams and Wilkins Company, 1932, v+137 pages.

Professor Woodworth divides human problems in two classes—those of mastery and those of adjustment. Mastery involves the active side of life and is determined by such qualities as strength, determination, skill, and tact. By mastery man utilizes the power he has acquired to accomplish his purposes. On the other hand, adjustment belongs to the sensory or receptive side of the individual and is required in all external contacts and often in many internal situations. This classic is a splendid antidote for those who know absolutely everything about human nature.

*Psychology of Childhood*, by NAOMI NORSWORTHY and MARY T. WHITLEY. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, revised edition, xvii+515 pages.

This volume is a revision of *Psychology of Childhood* which was published a few years ago. The revision was carried out by Miss Whitley. This volume is unquestionably one of the most valuable texts we have at the present time covering its field. Although the competition with other texts in the field is greater than a few years ago, the volume will unquestionably be well received by psychologists, educators, and parents.

*The Activity Movement*, by CLYDE HISSONG. Educational Psychology Monographs. Baltimore, Maryland: Warwick and York, Inc., 1932, 122 pages.

Mr. Hissong's monograph presents no new point of view regarding the activity movement, but is rather a gathering together and condensing of the basic principles and practices of the movement as it is now being carried on. He analyzes the various types of activity schools and quotes from the literature by the leaders of such schools as the Lincoln School, City and County School, Walden School, Fairhope School, and others. Each chapter contains a bibliography of some of the most important literature on the various points of view presented.

*Classroom Organization and Management*, by FREDERICK S. BREED. Measurement and Adjustment Series. Edited by Lewis M. Terman. New York: World Book Company, 1933, 472 pages.

A very usable text and reference dealing with the extra-instructional activities of the teacher comes from the pen of Professor Breed as a result of many years of experience in the development of an integrated course on classroom management. The author has succeeded in differentiating the distinctly managerial responsibilities of the teacher from those directly involving general and specific problems of method. His

book demonstrates that the problems of classroom organization and management of the elementary and secondary schools are virtually the same and therefore can be jointly treated.

*Introduction to Sociology*, by E. B. REUTER and C. W. HART. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, 530 pages.

The fundamental thesis of this text is that the concept of social interaction provides the only principle for giving sympathetic unity to the social sciences and the contribution made which justifies another introductory text in sociology in that the text attempts to explain and does not merely describe the social phenomena with which it deals. Several recent texts have made a marked advance towards the development of an adequate body of material for an introductory course in sociology. This book is one of the best that so far has appeared for the teacher of the introductory course.

*Readings in Educational Sociology*, Volume I, by E. GEORGE PAYNE. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1932, xvi+376 pages.

This volume does for the field of educational sociology what has been done in the field of general sociology by such writers as Gettys, Park and Burgess, and Wallis and Willey. This book is similar to source books in other fields in that it brings together selections from many writers. It differs from the usual source book, however, in three important respects: It includes only those selections which bear definitely upon the specific field of educational sociology; it is so edited and organized as to have continuity; and it combines theory with factual studies.

*Introductory Sociology*, by CHARLES HORTON COOLEY, ROBERT COOLEY ANGELL, and LOWELL JUILLIARD CARR. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933, 489 pages.

The content and organization of this text is, in the main, excellent for beginners in sociology. After an analysis of the simplest fundamentals of social life, the student is confronted, step by step, with the intricacies of modern social organization and the various groupings and social interactions involved. The outstanding merit of the book is that it makes available to the beginner so much of the social theory of the late Professor Cooley. His main sociological concepts are presented in an orderly sequence, interpreted, amplified, and tied up with our modern life. The style of the book is clear and vigorous.

*Workbook in Sociology*, by CLARENCE H. SCHETTLER and GEORGE E. SIMPSON. New York: American Book Company, 1931, 237 pages.

The authors state that the *Workbook* is written primarily for use with seniors in high-school and junior-college students. Its excellent unit and topical organization and well-selected bibliography, questions, topics for floor talks by students (each followed by a specific bibliographical reference), and suggested projects in connection with each topic should make it a helpful handbook in connection with any introductory course. Objective tests are included for each unit, based upon Ellwood's *Sociology and Modern Social Problems*.

*Negro Family in Chicago*, by E. FRANKLIN FRAZIER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933, 219 pages.

A study of the adjustment of Negro family life to the urban environment in Chicago. Excellent chapters on the Negro community, types of family adjustment, desertion and nonsupport, illegitimacy, and juvenile delinquency, as well as historical background. A volume in The University of Chicago Sociological Series. The outstanding book on the subject.

*Planning for Residential Districts*, by President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Washington, D. C., 1932, 227 pages.

*Planning for Residential Districts* comprises the reports of the committees on city planning and zoning, on subdivision layout, on utilities for houses, and on landscape planning and planting. The book is useful both as a summary of efforts and tendencies in the field of planning and as a ready manual for people interested in planning. Of particular interest in this volume are the recommendations as to proper standards to be pursued.

*Housing and the Community—Home Repairs and Remodeling*, by President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Washington, D. C., 1932, 291 pages.

This volume comprises the reports of the Committees on Housing and the Community and on Home Repair and Remodeling. It contains much interesting material of a sociological nature. Among the topics discussed are: the relation of health to housing, housing and delinquency, the effect of housing conditions upon the efficiency of industrial workers, housing and safety, housing and citizenship, recreation, and education. The conclusion reached is that good housing is a vital necessity.

*Housing Objectives and Programs*, by President's Conference on Home Building and Home Ownership. Washington, D. C., 1932, 345 pages.

This, the concluding volume of the reports of the President's Conference, contains the reports of the correlating committees on technological developments, on legislation and administration, on standards and objectives, on education and service, on organization programs, and on research. As a consequence, it is somewhat disorganized and disturbing to the reader. It is, nevertheless, an interesting collection of material and some parts of it should prove of considerable aid to students of housing. Of particular use are the report on standards and objectives, which serves to formulate advanced ideas as to desirable housing standards, and the report of the committee on technological developments which contains a great store of useful information.

*Body Mechanics: Education and Practice*, by the Committee on Medical Care for Children (White House Conference on Child Health and Protection). New York: The Century Company, 1932, 166 pages.

Health educators and physicians in recent years have had a growing appreciation of bodily mechanisms in relation to health. Therefore, this research into the essentials of body posture and educational practices relating to this essential aspect of physical education is particularly opportune at the present time. The monograph presents the most adequate summary of the researches in the field so far published and is an essential handbook for teachers of physical education.

*Principles and Practices in Health Education*, from the Sixth Health Education Conference arranged by the American Child Health Association. New York: American Child Health Association, 1931, 468 pages.

This book is a compilation of the addresses given at the Sixth Health Education Conference arranged by the American Child Health Association, held in Sayville, Long Island, and in general deals with health education in the elementary and secondary schools. It will give the uninitiated a general familiarity with the principles and point of view in the field of health education. For the specialist it offers nothing new and he would probably save time by not reading it.

*Follow-up of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection*, Committee on Health of the New York Principals Association. New York: 1933, 384 pages.

This publication includes the addresses and discussions of the New York Principals Association in the follow-up of the White House Conference on Child Health and Protection. It represents an attempt

to interpret the local problem of health in terms of the findings of the conference. It includes consideration of mental hygiene, health, counselors, teacher training, health education in the elementary schools, and other related topics. It therefore presents a summary of the point of view of those immediately concerned with the problem of health in the New York City schools.

*Social Problems and Social Processes*, edited by EMORY S. BOGARDUS. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933, 148 pages.

A small volume of selected papers from the 1932 proceedings of the American Sociological Society. The title is descriptive and the rather well-chosen readings are divided into three parts dealing, respectively, with regional aspects of social processes, personal-racial problems, and theories of social processes. The leading article by the editor is an exceptionally fine analysis of social processes illustrated by the situation on the Pacific coast.

*St. Ignatius and the Ratio Studiorum*, edited by EDWARD A. FITZPATRICK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1933, 275 pages.

Another volume in the valuable and useful McGraw-Hill Education Classics edited by Edward H. Reisner. The editor of this volume is dean of the graduate school of Marquette University. This work makes available in English the fundamental documents necessary for the study of Jesuit education. Part I deals with St. Ignatius. Part II contains the translation of Part IV of *The Constitutions of the Society of Jesus*, made by Mary Helen Mayer; the *Ratio Studiorum* of 1599, translated by O. R. Ball; and an analytical outline of the *Spiritual Exercises*. The *Ratio* and the *Constitutions* have not hitherto been available in English. Indispensable for its purpose.

## BOOKS RECEIVED

*American Labor and the Nation*, edited by SPENCER MILLER, JR. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

*Cardiac Weakness: Causes, Symptoms, Cures*, by FELIX WALZER. New York: International News Company.

*Case-Conference Problems in Group Guidance*, by RICHARD D. ALLEN. Volume II, Inor Group-Guidance Series. New York: Inor Publishing Company.

*Character Emphasis in Education*, by KENNETH L. HEATON. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

*Chronic Illness in New York City*, by MARY C. JARRETT. Two volumes. New York: Columbia University Press.

*City Management: The Cincinnati Experiment*, by CHARLES P. TAFT. New York: Farrar and Rinehart.

- Common Problems in Group Guidance*, by RICHARD D. ALLEN, FRANCES J. STEWART, and LESTER J. SCHLOERB. Volume I, Inor Group-Guidance Series. New York: Inor Publishing Company.
- Current Social Problems*, by JOHN M. GILLETTE and JAMES M. REINHARDT. New York: American Book Company.
- Democracy, Debts, and Disarmament*, by WALTON NEWBOLD. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company.
- Elementary School Libraries*. Twelfth Yearbook, June 1933, of Department of Elementary School Principals, National Education Association. Washington: National Education Association.
- Fifty Ways to Save Money*, by MALCOLM MCCAW. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- Fusion of Social Studies in Junior High Schools*, by HOWARD E. WILSON. Volume 21, Harvard Studies in Education. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- How to Appreciate Motion Pictures*, by EDGAR DALE. Payne Fund Studies on Motion Pictures and Youth. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Individualism and Socialism*, by KIRBY PAOR. New York: Farrar and Rinehart.
- Juvenile Detention in the United States*, by FLORENCE M. WARNER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Karl Barth and Christian Unity*, by ADOLF KELLER. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Life in the Making*, by ALAN FRANK GUTTMACHER. New York: Viking Press.
- Machine Unchained*, by LEO HAUSLEITER. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc.
- New Leisure Challenges the School*, by EUGENE T. LIES. Washington: National Education Association.
- Racketeering in Washington*, by RAYMOND CLAPPER. Boston: L. C. Page and Company.
- School and the Community*, by L. LELAND DUDLEY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Social Development in Young Children*, by SUSAN ISAACS. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company.
- Social Waste of Industrial Insurance*, by MAURICE TAYLOR. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Spirit of the Oxford Movement*, by CHRISTOPHER DAWSON. New York: Sheed and Ward, Inc.
- Third American Revolution*, by BENSON Y. LANDIS. New York: Association Press.
- Training Youth for the New Social Order*, by RUDOLPH R. RHEDER. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press.
- Varicose Veins and Haemorrhoids*, by F. HOPE. New York: International News Company.
- Way of All Women*, by M. ESTHER HARDING. New York: Longmans, Green and Company.
- What Everybody Wants to Know About Money*, edited by G. D. H. COLE. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

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## EDITORIAL

We are only beginning to realize the implications of the social revolution that is quietly taking place in this country, only beginning to realize that this revolution is destined to shake our American way of life to its very foundations as it replaces an outworn laissez-faire ideal of rugged individualism with a new emphasis on social responsibility and group living. It is becoming evident that life will demand of the oncoming generation of youth an increased personal stability and sense of social obligation as it takes its place in a world of shifting values and relationships. It is further evident that the ability of youth to meet the demands of a new social order will depend in large part upon the guidance it receives in our public schools. This guidance must proceed from an educational philosophy that looks upon the adequate organization of the child's emotional life, and the development of the child's social adaptability, as the primary goals of educational experience. Child guidance is assuming a new importance in our educational thinking.

The current number of *The Journal of Educational Sociology* concerns itself with some of the problems involved in the guidance of the child in the public school. It is prepared, not from an academic point of view, but out of the everyday experience of schoolmen. The first two articles, by Snyder and Fisher, probe the group differences between those children who are adjusting, and who are not adjusting to school experience. Williams's article is an interesting

background against which to estimate how typical may be certain of the findings of Snyder and Fisher. Their findings indicate the extreme importance to the child's ultimate personal and social adequacy of his first school experiences. Boardman's article discusses the transition from home to school, and the factors in the child's preschool experience which make this transition difficult. Trolan's article presents an experiment in the Newark schools, aimed at lessening the difficulties of this transition through modification of curriculum and procedure in the early grades. Meredith's article analyzes the teacher's personality as a factor in the process of the child's school adjustment. The book-review department offers a bibliography of outstanding books of the year in the field of guidance, books which it is hoped will be placed upon the shelves of every school library.

HARVEY ZORBAUGH



## THE PROBLEM CHILD IN THE JERSEY CITY ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

LOUISE MAY SNYDER

Research Assistant, Los Angeles Community Welfare Federation

This is one of a series of investigations undertaken by New York University to analyze the criterion against which the schools identify children as problems. The setting for this particular study was the Jersey City elementary schools from which a sample comprising 13,632 pupils was discriminatingly chosen in consultation with the school authorities. In this sample, which is a reliable cross section of the school population, are eleven schools of diverse economic, cultural, and racial background.

Seven of the schools are designated by the administration as preëminently of native extraction, one of which is mostly colored. Two contain a majority of first-generation Polish students, while three draw their numbers from children of Italian-born parents. Their socio-economic position also seems representative. Three of them are reported to be above average, three average, and the remaining five fall below this standard. Although at first glance this sample may appear to be overweighted on the lower end of the economic scale, it reflects the conditions found in Jersey City as a whole.

### INCIDENCE OF PROBLEM CHILDREN

From this group, 329 teachers reported 829 pupils or 6.9 per cent of the enrollment as problem children. Out of this number, 361 were designated as serious behavior problems.

An examination of the percentage of problems listed in the several types of schools uncovered some interesting results. It was found that the highest incidence of problem children (12.7 per cent of the enrollment) was reported

for the school predominantly colored. Ranking second in percentage of problems were the two schools which are below average economic status and of Polish extraction (8.7 per cent of total enrollment). The two schools of Italian background and of below average economic status ranked next, 7.6 per cent. The lowest incidence appeared in the group of schools representing the homes of native extraction, those of average economic status producing 4.8 per cent in comparison to the above average ones which listed only 3.1 per cent. Thus it seems that nationality and economic status, to a large degree, affect the percentage of problems found among school children.

Again measuring the number of problem children as they appear in the eight grades, it was found that the largest percentage was recorded for the fifth and sixth grades (8.7 and 9.1 percent, respectively). From this peak the proportion of problems descends about two per cent on both sides with only 4.4 per cent of the second grade and 6.2 of the eighth grade reported.

The number of boys reported was 688 or 83.0 per cent of the 829 problem cases in contrast to 141 girls. As might be expected, the boys formed an even higher percentage of the total when the study was confined merely to the serious problems. Of these 361 cases, 88.9 per cent were boys.

#### TEACHERS' DESCRIPTION OF PROBLEM CHILDREN

From this general picture of problem children as they are marked off from their fellows by teachers, the investigation attempted a more detailed interpretation. This was made possible through the descriptive paragraphs written by the teachers for each of the cases reported as serious. The complaints, to a great extent, were found to be those based upon the more aggressive types of behavior. "Annoying others" was mentioned 150 times and "inattention" 100, while "sensitiveness" and "fearfulness" were noted but three and one times, respectively. There were some 34 different traits listed by the 329 teachers various numbers

of times so that the total number was 1,118 or about three per problem child.

Since the main criterion upon which this investigation was based is the teachers' designation of, and reaction to, the problem child, the personnel and attitudes of the group of teachers reporting were examined. It was disclosed that 18.8 per cent of the number had studied mental hygiene within the past seven years. These teachers saw more problems in their students and considered only 60.8 per cent of them well adjusted in comparison to 65.4 per cent so considered by the others.

Most of the teachers list counseling, scolding, or some type of punishment as the method most often used in dealing with these problems. Only a small percentage of them specified reliance on any type of clinical or scientific study. Furthermore, the suggestions made as to the needs of the pupils were largely those of the disciplinary type. Some of the teachers felt that if the child could be "made to realize that instant obedience is necessary," or inculcated with fear against breaking school regulations, the problem would be solved.

Looking behind these definite suggestions for the treatment of problem cases and the types of conduct listed as serious, an attempt was made to measure objectively the teachers' attitudes by means of the Wickman Teachers' Attitude Scale.<sup>1</sup> The results are almost identical to those of Wickman, Yourman,<sup>2</sup> and the many other investigators who have used the scales for teachers in many parts of the country. Moreover, they are similar to the findings of Stodgill<sup>3</sup> concerning parents' attitudes. It is quite clear that both teachers and parents rate aggressive behavior as serious, and as inconsequential that of the withdrawing type. This contrasts sharply with the point of view of clinicians.

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<sup>1</sup>E. K. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*. (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1928).

<sup>2</sup>Julius Yourman, "Children Identified by Their Teachers as Problems," *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, V (February, 1932), p. 334.

<sup>3</sup>R. M. Stodgill, "Parental Attitudes and Mental Hygiene Standards," *Mental Hygiene*, XV (October 1931), pp. 813-827.

## PERSONNEL OF PROBLEM AND NONPROBLEM GROUPS

From this environment the problem and nonproblem groups were selected. The stage was again narrowed to include but five schools chosen to mirror the eleven in their reliability as a sample of the entire school population. Socio-economically one is slightly superior, two are average, and two below average. Three are, for the most part, of American, the fourth of Polish, and the fifth of Italian-born parentage.

The problem group consists of those reported by the teachers in these five schools while the nonproblem group was sampled alphabetically from the remaining members of the same classes. After allowing for absences and uncontrollable factors, the final number in each group was 264. The profiles of these two groups were then compared.

DIFFERENCES IN DEPORTMENT OF PROBLEM AND  
NONPROBLEM GROUPS

The outstanding difference is that which would be expected from the nature of the groups. The measurements in terms of behavior show overwhelming differences in favor of the nonproblem group. From the difference found in deportment grades recorded throughout the school history, it is clear that the problem group has presented a consistent picture of poor conduct in every year of its school progress. The mean average mark of this group is 77.8 in comparison to 82.5 for the nonproblem group, and the critical ratio (28.6) is seven times as large as is necessary to ensure complete reliability of the difference.

Substantiating this is the result of the teachers' rating of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Schedule A,<sup>4</sup> the Behavior Problem Record. The average mean of the problem group was found to be 51.1 and that of the nonproblem 17.5. This difference is again of high reliability, being 19.6 times its probable error. Another result, although of questionable importance, pointed in the same direction. The answer

<sup>4</sup>Willard C. Olson, *Problem Tendencies in Children*. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1930). Melvin E. Haggerty, "The Incidence of Undesirable Behavior in Public-School Children," *Journal of Educational Research*, XII (September 1925), pp. 102-122.

to the psychoneurotic inventory in which the question "Do teachers tell you you are too noisy or talk too much?" provoked a reaction showing more difference (C. R. 7.2) between the problem and nonproblem groups than any of the other twenty-three questions.

Closely allied to this as a measure of school adjustment is Division III (Social Traits) of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Schedule B as rated by the teachers. This shows more difference between the problem and nonproblem groups than any of the other three divisions. The mean score for the problem group was found to be 30.6 in contrast to that of 21.5 for the nonproblem. This difference of 9.1 is highly reliable, being 25.8 times its probable error.

#### CONTRASTS IN EMOTIONAL ADEQUACY OF PROBLEM AND NONPROBLEM GROUPS

Turning from the outward symptoms of maladjustment to the emotional make-up of the individuals displaying these, it is clear, in so far as this investigation was able to determine, that the problem group shows less emotional stability. From the teachers' ratings on Division IV (Emotional Traits) of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Schedule B, the difference in favor of the nonproblem group appears highly reliable (C. R. 21.4). The mean score of the problem group was 30.3 and that of the nonproblem 20.4.

The other side of the picture, the child's own feelings as measured by the psychoneurotic inventory, show more adjusted answers for the nonproblem group. The mean score for this group is 7.0 and that for the problem 8.4 (C. R. 5.6). The question which showed the second largest critical ratio (6.7) is one quite indicative of the child's feeling of emotional security, "Do you often feel that nobody loves you?" Although it seems risky to offer any prediction from one question, at least this finding is suggestive that any two groups of the type will show difference in the feeling of security measured by this question.

DIFFERENCES IN FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS OF PROBLEM  
AND NONPROBLEM GROUPS

Somewhere in between social adequacy and emotional adequacy the results of the human-relation scales,<sup>9</sup> revised from the White House Conference questionnaire, should be interpreted. The questions, a combination of facts about the child's home life and his relationships with his family, were rated on a home-background score standardized by Burgess and Cavan on the basis of factors which contribute to personality adjustment. The results are definitely in favor of the nonproblem group, showing a difference of 7.1 in mean scores and critical ratio of 5.6. Moreover, one of the questions handled separately, "What does your father do that you do not like?" showed a greater percentage of the problem group complaining of the fathers than the nonproblem. The difference is reliable (C. R. 4.9), although it is impossible to make any claims on the basis of one question. However, six of the questions show differences of highly probable reliability (C. R.'s above 3) so that the indications are that the differences in family relationships, as they are measured by this scale, are in favor of the nonproblem group.

COMPARISON IN TERMS OF INTELLIGENCE AND  
SCHOOL ACHIEVEMENT

On the basis of intellectual adequacy, a highly reliable difference was found in favor of the nonproblem group. The mean intelligence quotient on the Kuhlmann-Anderson<sup>10</sup> and Otis S. A. Form A<sup>7</sup> group tests for the problem group is 80.7 and for the nonproblem 88.5 with a critical ratio (8.8). Likewise, from the teachers' ratings of Division I (Intellectual Traits) of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Schedule B the same type of difference was found with a high reliability and predictive value (C. R. 13.8).

Substantiating these findings are the school records. The mean for the average school grades of the problem group

<sup>9</sup>Human Relations Scales, edited by E. W. Burgess and R. S. Cavan, No. 1, "Things I Like to Do." (Chicago: University of Chicago Press).

<sup>10</sup>Kuhlmann-Anderson Intelligence Tests. (Minneapolis: Educational Test Bureau).

<sup>7</sup>S. A. Otis Intelligence Tests. (Yonkers-on-Hudson, N. Y.: World Book Company).

was found to be 71.9 in comparison to 73.5 for the non-problem group. The number of averages upon which this is based is 1,125 for the problem and 1,164 for the non-problem, the critical ratio being 14.0.

#### LIKENESSES IN SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS

In sharp contrast to these differences of high reliability found between the problem and nonproblem groups in fields of social behavior, emotional adequacy, intelligence, and school success is the similarity they show in socio-economic status measured by the Sims Scale.<sup>8</sup> The difference between the mean scores of the two groups, although in favor of the nonproblem group, is but .05 and the chances only 53 out of 100 that it is a true difference. This is the smallest difference found in any of the traits which make up the profile of the two groups.

#### DIFFERENCES IN CHRONOLOGICAL AGE

These, for the most part contrasting traits of the profiles of the problem and nonproblem groups, seem to have some connection with the position the group holds in the school environment. The findings show that the problem group is over age for the grade to such an extent that the difference between the percentage over age of that group and the non-problem group is 9.5 times its probable error. Moreover, the difference between the percentage of the two groups underage is highly reliable in favor of the nonproblem group (C. R. 6.5). The dissimilarity in chronological age is also shown in the difference between the means of the two groups. That of the problem group is 12.0 years and of the nonproblem 11.3, showing a difference of 7.8 months (C. R. 5.1). Thus, in the face of this evidence, it is possible to predict that any other groups of the type will show differences in age-grade placement in favor of the nonproblem children.

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<sup>8</sup>Verner M. Sims, *The Measurements of Economic Status*. (Bloomington, Ill.: Public School Publishing Company, 1928).

## EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS DERIVED FROM FINDINGS

The educational implications derived from these findings are many, although they do not differ widely from those of other studies. It would seem that the 6.9 per cent of the school enrollment considered by the teachers to have problem tendencies constitutes a challenge to education which is not being met. This deviating group is recognized as unable to fit into the school situation as it is at present. Many in it have repeated grades time and time again. A great number show themselves, at least on the basis of group intelligence tests, as incapable of working on a par with their fellows. Many of them, the teachers state, should be examined for special classes.

As the situation now stands in the Jersey City schools, there are special classes for but a small fraction of those who are in need of them. The teachers complain that after reporting a child as backward, the only result is to have the child diagnosed as retarded and put on the waiting list for a special class, where the matter ends. This would seem in keeping with the statistical facts which are that only 245 subnormal children are being given the advantage of the Special II classes, and only 176 of the Special V for retarded. These 421 out of a total elementary-school enrollment of 40,366 are but a small percentage of those who need this specialized work.

Often the teachers stated on the questionnaires that the child should be graduated as soon as possible so that he may learn a trade. It seems incredible, in the face of these facts, that there is no more adequate attempt so to train these students in school. Work in which they could be successful might go a long way towards solving their difficulties. At present, there are but a few hundred enrolled in vocational classes.

The peak of all the problems appears in the fifth and sixth grades. This would seem to indicate that many mal-adjusted pupils are kept in the sixth grade because of mental inability to progress further and the compulsory attendance law which makes discharge impossible. Thus, the only



outlet for these pupils is to disturb the class routine, thus becoming behavior problems.

Not all of the difficulties would be of such easy solution. Definite adjustment work seems indicated by many of the problems. Some of the teachers state that health examinations are needed, and often the home conditions pictured are badly in need of adjustment. In some cases, the child's problem seems to require some type of psychological or psychiatric aid. Only a fraction of the teachers reported the use of any child-guidance agency, in spite of the fact that a definite program has been set up during the past two years.

The department within the school at present offering help is that connected with the Special Service Department. This is organized under a director who is one of the assistant superintendents. In it are correlated all the agencies dealing with children's problems, including truancy, academic failure, personality defect, and poor home conditions. The director and his staff take all the cases under advisement. The psychiatric social worker, the six visiting teachers, psychiatrist, psychologist, attendance officers, and special police carry out the work of adjustment. The special police have an unusual function in the Jersey City school system. They have jurisdiction over all juvenile offenders so that they are guarded from publicity and regular court procedure.

To this Special Service Department cases are referred by the police, the courts, parents, and schools. The statistics show that, out of the entire Jersey City school enrollment of 51,212, only 297 (.15 per cent of enrollment) cases were handled by this agency in the year 1931-1932. This is but a fraction of the problem cases, which number 6.9 per cent of the enrollment as shown by the teachers' reports for this survey.

The department is expanding, however, and plans are being formulated to deal with every type of maladjustment. The cases being handled this year include 71 of the serious problem cases reported for the present investigation. When

this number is compared with the 829 problem cases, or even the 361 serious behavior cases reported by teachers of this sample (11,998), which represents but a third of the elementary enrollment (40,366), it seems quite clear that an adequate approach to the problem is but in the initial stages.

If this program now being initiated could be provided on a larger scale than at present, a great deal of future difficulty might be avoided. Since, however, all innovations develop slowly, great changes cannot be expected from this source immediately. Neither can the suggestions made by this and other investigators for changing the set-up of the schools be expected in the near future.

One solution more nearly within the reach of present probability would be the creation of a different attitude on the part of the teachers. Two very practical steps towards this goal have recently been launched in Jersey City. The principals and teachers involved in the problem cases have been invited to participate in the clinical conferences held by the Special Service Department. Furthermore, the school administration has been encouraging the teachers to take special courses along the lines of child development, some of which have been given in the school buildings. If the teachers could all see the child as a totality with problems which might be solved, instead of as a disturbing element which should be made to conform to a preconceived adult pattern, much might be accomplished. With overcrowded classes this, of course, is impossible. It is probably talking in terms of Utopias to hope for these changes, but, at least, they are goals towards which many are working.

# MEASURED DIFFERENCES BETWEEN PROBLEM AND NONPROBLEM CHILDREN IN A PUBLIC- SCHOOL SYSTEM

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Diogenes, with his lantern, searched no more diligently for an honest man than educators are now searching for an understanding of the group characteristics of behavior-problem school children. Sheer scientific interest in discovering experimentally the differences between problem and nonproblem children explains only partially the zeal with which school people are pursuing such investigations. The real driving purpose behind this type of educational research lies in the eagerness of practical school people to reevaluate continuously school procedures in terms of child guidance—in terms of the contribution that the school can make to the wholesome personality growth of school children. One such purposeful experimental investigation of the differences between problem children and nonproblem children in a public-school system is summarized very briefly in the following paragraphs.

## DETERMINATION OF PROBLEM AND NONPROBLEM GROUPS

All teachers in a school system of 6,737 pupils were asked to write down the names of all of their pupils whom they considered behavior problems, and to underline the ones they considered the most serious problems. All teachers were also asked to name their best adjusted pupils. No definitions of the terms "behavior problem" or "best adjusted" were given. All pupils in the school system not named as behavior problems were considered to be nonproblem children. This nonproblem group was then subjected to a random sampling, in order to make up a nonproblem group equal in numbers to the problem group, as a basis for experimental investigation.

## SCOPE AND TYPE OF MEASUREMENT

The mental, physical, social, and emotional phases of personality were investigated and compared for both the problem and the nonproblem groups. The history of the cumulative school record was studied and compared for the two groups in respect to achievement-test rankings, participation in extracurricular activities, special interests, ordinal position in the family, size of the family, and number of other school systems attended.

Standardized group tests or rating scales were used so far as possible. Group-intelligence tests and the mental trait division of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedules were used to compare the intellectual capacities of the problem and the nonproblem groups. The Rogers Physical Capacity Tests and the physical-trait division of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Rating Schedules were used to compare the physical fitness of the two groups. The Burgess-Cavan Tests of Home Background, the Sims Socio-Economic Tests, and the social-trait division of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Schedules were utilized in an investigation of the social background. The Thurstone Psycho-Neurotic Inventory and the emotional-trait division of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale were used to compare the emotional characteristics of the two groups.

The cumulative school-record material, consisting largely of yearly teacher ratings, was tabulated as additional information in the various fields of investigation mentioned in the two preceding paragraphs. The most interesting and unusual portion of the cumulative record material was a rating sheet of social and emotional tendencies filed in the kindergarten years by kindergarten teachers for the pupils in the experimental groups of grades kindergarten, I, II, and III.

## GENERAL DIFFERENCES FOUND

Judged on the basis of raw arithmetical mean scores, standardized tests showed that the nonproblem group was consistently favored over the problem group in terms of desirable intellectual traits, in desirable social traits and

### *Differences in Problem and Nonproblem Children 355*

background, in emotional adjustment, in socio-economic status, and in physical fitness and vigor. The best-adjusted group almost always had the highest favorable scores in all these fields of comparison, the nonproblem group had the second highest favorable scores, the problem group had the third highest favorable scores, and the most serious problem group had the lowest scores. The consistency of this general trend in the relative positions of the mean scores for all four experimental groups was apparent both when the scores were distributed by separate grades, and also when the scores were distributed by schools.

The tabulated cumulative record material supported the evidence of standardized-test results whenever the fields of investigation were the same. In certain matters of comparison not touched upon by the standardized tests, the cumulative record material showed some other interesting differences between the problem and the nonproblem groups. The best adjusted group had the highest percentage of children who had not attended any other school system, and the most serious problem group had the lowest percentage. Of those children who had attended only one other school system, the best adjusted group had the lowest percentage, and the most serious problem group had the highest percentage. Of those children who had attended *more* than two other school systems, however, both the best adjusted and the most serious problem groups had markedly higher percentages than the total problem group and the total nonproblem group. In fact, the best adjusted group actually had a higher percentage than the most serious problem group of children who had attended two or more other school systems.

The percentages of only children showed interesting differences between the problem and nonproblem groups. On the elementary-school level, the four experimental groups ranked in the following order when arranged in descending order from highest to lowest percentages of only children: most serious problem group; total problem group; total nonproblem group; best adjusted group. On

the secondary-school level, however, these differences entirely disappeared.

In respect to the average number and diversity of type of school extracurricular activities participated in by the experimental groups, the four groups ranked in the following order, from highest to lowest: best adjusted group; total nonproblem group; total problem group; most serious problem group. The only type of activity in which the problem group children outnumbered the nonproblem group children was sports.

In general, arithmetical differences in mean scores between problem and nonproblem groups tended consistently to favor the nonproblem groups with the desirable qualities or experiences in all fields.

#### HIGHEST COMPARATIVE RELIABILITY OF THE DIFFERENCES FOUND IN THE SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL FIELDS

The arithmetical differences mentioned in the preceding topic appeared to have unequal significance when statistically treated and compared in terms of the reliability of the differences.

The differences between the problem and nonproblem group mean scores, on the various standardized tests used, showed much variation in reliability. The Sims Socio-Economic Status scores, and the Burgess-Cavan Home-Background scores, showed unreliable differences since the critical ratios were lower than four. The median I.Q.'s for the problem and nonproblem groups derived from the group-intelligence tests showed unreliable differences in all grades except kindergarten and seventh grade. For the entire problem and nonproblem groups compared for the whole school system, the critical ratio for the differences between the median I.Q.'s of the two groups was only 4.1. On the Rogers Tests of Physical Capacity Tests, the differences between the medians of the problem and nonproblem groups were entirely unreliable.

On the Thurstone Psycho-Neurotic Inventory and the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale, however, the differences between the mean scores of the problem and nonproblem groups showed reliability ratios of 6 for the

Thurstone and 14 for the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman. When the scores of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Scale were redistributed in terms of separate divisions (intellectual, physical, social, and emotional) the ratios of reliability for the intellectual and physical-trait divisions were approximately 10, whereas the critical ratios for the social and emotional differences averaged 21.

The tabulated cumulative-record material, compared for the problem and nonproblem groups in terms of percentages, showed the same type of unequal reliability. Percentage differences were all unreliable in respect to the number of only children in the group, and the size of family, the number of other school systems attended, the number of physical defects, the number of children rated below average in health, and the number of children rated immature in physical development. Only on the percentage differences of ratings on the kindergarten history in respect to emotional tendencies and social-group abilities were the reliability ratios higher than 4—in fact, as high as 24 in some emotional differences. Again the outstanding reliable differences, on the cumulative record school history, just as on the standardized group tests or rating scales, were in the social and emotional fields.

#### DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE SOCIAL DIFFERENCES

##### *Social-trait differences in terms of problem tendencies*

Division III of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale provides for teacher ratings of ten different social traits in terms of their problem tendency score: i.e., the higher the score of an individual child on any one item, the greater is the tendency of that trait to contribute to the development of problem behavior. Teacher ratings of the social traits of all children in the four experimental groups—176 children in the most serious problem group, 360 in total problem group, 360 in total nonproblem group, and 159 children in the best adjusted group—were made for grades kindergarten, I, III, V, VI, IX, and XII of an entire school system. The mean scores on the ten individual social-trait items, and for the total social-trait division, were worked out according to separate grades, according

to separate schools, and according to the total results for the entire school system.

The ten social-trait items comprising the social-trait division of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Scale were as follows: (1) Is he quiet or talkative? (2) Is his behavior (honesty, morals, etc.) generally acceptable to ordinary social standards? (3) What are his social habits (in terms of social withdrawal, or social participation)? (4) Is he shy or bold in social relationships? (5) Is his personality attractive? (6) How does he accept authority? (7) How flexible is he? (8) Is he rude or courteous? (9) Does he give in to others or does he assert himself? (10) What tendency has he to criticize others?

Under each of the listed traits appears a five-point scale, with an objective statement of the particular behavior manifestation which each one of the five points represents.

On every single one of the ten social traits, in every single grade, and in every single school, the mean scores of the four experimental groups ranked in the same order in terms of the behavior-problem tendencies of their particular social-trait patterns. The most serious problem group had the highest problem tendency mean score; the total problem group, the second highest; the total nonproblem group, the third highest; and the best adjusted group, the lowest problem-tendency score.

Grade by grade, from the kindergarten on through the twelfth, there appeared a consistent tendency for the greatest difference in the mean scores on any one item between the problem and nonproblem groups to be in the item of acceptance of authority and in the item of general acceptability of behavior to ordinary social standards.

*Present social-trait differences as revealed in behavior-problem record*

Schedule A of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedule consists of a teacher rating of the frequency of occurrence of fifteen specific behavior problems, listed as: (1) disinterest in schoolwork, (2) cheating, (3) unnecessary tardiness, (4) lying, (5) defiance to discipline, (6) marked overactivity, (7) unpopularity with children, (8) rough-and-tumble, (9) bullying, (10) ...



(11) imaginative lying, (12) sex offenses, (13) stealing, (14) truancy, (15) obscene notes, talk, or pictures.

Children of all four experimental groups in grades kindergarten, I, III, V, VI, IX, and XII were rated by their teachers on these fifteen items. On every single item, in every grade, in every school, and in the totals for the entire school system, the mean scores showed most frequent occurrence of each behavior problem in the most serious problem group; next most frequent occurrence in the total problem group; third most frequent occurrence in the total nonproblem group; and the least frequent occurrence in the best adjusted group.

The greatest difference between the mean scores of the problem and nonproblem groups was in the item listed as "unpopularity with children." On the basis of separate grades, the results showed this item as representing the greatest grade difference between the problem and nonproblem groups for every grade except the twelfth.

*Social-trait differences in terms of kindergarten history*

The cumulative school records of pupils comprising all four experimental groups in grades kindergarten, I, II, and III, contained a rating sheet of certain special abilities as the kindergarten teachers had estimated them. It must be kept in mind that the children had been named as problems, or as best adjusted, by their present grade teachers, so the kindergarten record had been made out by different teachers from one to four years previous to this investigation.

The following so-called special abilities were rated for each child as average, below average, or above average in kindergarten: conversational ability; rhythmic ability; ability to sing songs; ability to tell stories; ability to get along with the group; care of group and personal possessions; ability to plan and execute a project; handwork ability. The differences between the percentage of below average ratings of the most serious problem group, and the percentage of below average ratings of the best adjusted group were enough in favor of the best adjusted group to yield statistically reliable ratios on practically every item.

However, the differences between the total problem and nonproblem group percentages of below average ratings yielded two out of three most statistically reliable differences (critical ratios of 9 and 12) in the predominantly social traits: ability to get along with the group, care of group and personal possessions.

When the four experimental group ratings were distributed separately by grades (kindergarten, I, III) to discover the tendency of kindergarten ratings to persist for one to four years, the results were entirely consistent by grade with the results for all three grades mentioned in the preceding paragraph. Regardless of the number of years ago that the kindergarten rating was made, the four experimental groups ranked in the same order on the two predominantly social abilities in regard to the percentage of below average ratings: most serious problem group; total problem group; total nonproblem group; best adjusted group. Not only was this true for the raw arithmetical differences, but every single difference yielded critical ratios well above 4, and thus demonstrated their reliability.

In ability to get along in kindergarten with the group, and in the care of group and personal possessions in kindergarten, the reliable advantage of the nonproblem group over the problem group was consistently apparent grade by grade. This was true regardless of how long ago the kindergarten record was made, and regardless of the fact that the problem and nonproblem groups were *named* by present teachers, but were *rated* by previous kindergarten teachers.

#### DETAILED EXAMINATION OF THE EMOTIONAL DIFFERENCES

##### *Emotional differences in terms of teacher ratings*

Division IV of the Haggerty-Olson-Wickman Behavior Rating Schedule provides for teacher ratings of eleven different emotional traits in terms of their "problem-tendency" score; *i.e.*, the higher the score of an individual child on any one item, the greater is the tendency of that trait to contribute to the development of problem behavior. Teacher ratings of the emotional traits of all children in the four experimental groups—176 children in the most

serious problem group, 360 children in the total problem group, 360 children in the total nonproblem group, and 159 children in the best adjusted group—were made for grades kindergarten, I, III, V, VI, IX, and XII of the entire school system. The mean scores on the eleven different emotional-trait items and on the total emotional-trait division were worked out according to separate grades, according to separate schools, and according to the total results for the entire school system.

The eleven emotional-trait items comprising the emotional trait division are as follows: (1) Is he even tempered or moody? (2) Is he easily discouraged or is he persistent? (3) Is he generally depressed or cheerful? (4) Is he sympathetic? (5) How does he react to frustrations or to unpleasant situations? (6) Does he worry or is he easy-going? (7) How does he react to examination or to discussion of himself or his problems? (8) Is he suspicious or trustful? (9) Is he emotionally calm or excitable? (10) Is he negativistic or suggestible? (11) Does he act impulsively or cautiously? Under each of the listed traits appears a five-point scale, with an objective statement of the particular behavior manifestation which each one of the five points represents.

On every single one of the eleven emotional traits, in every single grade and in every single school, the mean scores of the four experimental groups ranked in the same order in terms of the behavior-problem tendencies of their particular emotional-trait pattern. The most serious problem group had the highest problem-tendency score; the total problem group had the second highest; the total nonproblem group had the third highest and the best adjusted had the lowest problem-tendency score.

Grade by grade, from the kindergarten on through the twelfth, there appeared a consistent tendency for the greatest differences in the mean scores on any single items between the problem and nonproblem groups to be in the items rating a child's reaction to frustrations or unpleasant situations, and a child's tendency to act impulsively or

cautiously, and a child's tendency to be negativistic or suggestible.

*Emotional differences in terms of children's own opinions*

The abbreviated Thurstone Psycho-Neurotic Inventory consists of twenty-four questions to be answered by the children themselves, which are scored in terms of their tendency towards emotional adjustment, or emotional maladjustment.<sup>1</sup> Although there was a consistent tendency of the total elementary-school nonproblem group to obtain higher adjustment mean scores on each individual question than the total elementary-school problem group did, the differences were reliable statistically only in the following questions, listed in order of their reliability:

- Do people say you are disobedient?
- Do people find fault with you much?
- Do teachers tell you you are noisy or talk too much?
- Did you ever have a teacher you couldn't get along with?
- Do you ever take other people's things without their permission?
- Have you always liked the nicknames you have been given?
- Do you ever feel that some one is trying to do you harm,

On the secondary-school level, however, only one question yielded reliable differences between the problem and nonproblem groups. The problem group received a reliably higher percentage of affirmative (unadjusted) answers than the nonproblem group on the question: Did you ever want to run away from home? The affirmative answers of the problem group to this question suggested the possibility of a crystallized aggressive reaction to long-standing feelings of the type expressed by the elementary-school children in the preceding paragraph.

*Emotional-trait differences in terms of kindergarten history*

The cumulative school records of pupils comprising all four experimental groups in grades kindergarten, I, II, and III contained a rating sheet of emotional tendencies as the kindergarten teacher had rated them in the kindergarten

<sup>1</sup>Abbreviated by E. W. Burgess, and incorporated in *Human Relations Scales*, No. 1, by E. W. Burgess and Ruth Shonle Cavan (University of Chicago Press). Reliability of abbreviated form.

year. It must be remembered that the children were named as problems or as best adjusted by their present grade teachers, but the kindergarten record had been made out by different teachers from one to four years previous to this investigation.

Eleven so-called "emotional tendencies" were checked for each kindergarten child *only if the tendency was marked*. The list of items included dependability, quarrelsomeness, thoughtfulness, dreaminess, generosity, stubbornness, sensitiveness, "tantrums," affectionateness, excitability, and colorlessness. The number of checked items was compared for the problem and nonproblem groups, and for the most serious problem group and the best adjusted group. In every case, the nonproblem group received more of the favorable tendency checks and fewer of the unfavorable tendency checks than the problem group. The same trend, accentuated, appeared in the comparison of the best adjusted group with the most serious problem group. The best adjusted and nonproblem groups were markedly more dependable, more thoughtful, more generous, more sensitive, and more affectionate, less quarrelsome, less dreamy, less stubborn, less "tantrummy," less excitable, and less colorless than the problem group. Reliability ratios for the differences in percentage of checks were high, reaching a peak of 24.4 in the differences between the most serious problem group and the best adjusted group in the matter of dependability.

When the rating for the four experimental groups was distributed by grade (kindergarten, I, III) to discover the persistence of the differences noted in the preceding paragraph, the results were consistent without exception. Regardless of the number of years ago the kindergarten ratings had been made, the groups named as problems by their present grade teachers had been rated by their kindergarten teachers as less dependable, less thoughtful, less generous, less sensitive, less affectionate, more quarrelsome, more dreamy, more stubborn, more given to tantrums, more excitable, more colorless than the nonproblem children. So great were the differences in dependability, thoughtful-

ness, quarrelsomeness, stubbornness, and excitability between the total problem and nonproblem groups, and between the most serious problem group and the best adjusted group, that statistical treatment indicated reliability of the differences in each separate grade.

#### INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

Although any generalization from a limited investigation is unsound, it is probably not too rash to expect to find similar differences between problem and nonproblem groups similarly selected from a similar school population. With this expectation in view, educators may feel a challenge in the findings of the present study.

That the most reliable group differences between problem and nonproblem children lie in the social and emotional fields is not simply a psychiatrist's hypothesis on the basis of experience with isolated individual cases. It is a finding, statistically reliable, based on this nontechnical investigation by school persons in a public-school system. That the social and emotional traits apparent at kindergarten age tend to persist is not simply a psychiatrist's theory, but a demonstrated finding of this study, attested to unwittingly by the opinions of teachers unaware of the issue involved, unaware of each other's opinions, and years apart in point of time.

Surely educators, who accept as their primary objective what laymen call "character education" or what mental hygienists term education in "personality and social adjustment," will wish to reappraise the social and emotional training absorbed by children from the administration, supervision, personnel, and classroom experiences of the public school. Public-school experiences and training can be consciously organized to provide the best possible "growing conditions" for the development of the mental, physical, social, and emotional life of all children. Then, within this generally favorable environment, each individual child may be helped to make the most of himself through the activities of a child-guidance program sensitive to the challenge of research findings.

# A SURVEY OF PREDELINQUENT SCHOOL CHILDREN OF TEN MIDWESTERN CITIES

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The object of this study was to find the percentage, distribution, and behavior characteristics of problem children *in the school systems of cities of varying size*. For some time the feeling has been growing that we should utilize to an ever increasing extent the facilities which the public schools offer for discovering and treating predelinquents. This has resulted from convincing evidence that most of our efforts towards reformation of delinquents and criminals have proved futile. We are continually reminded that our hope of solving the crime problem must lie in preventing the development of social behavior patterns and criminal attitudes. Long experience in dealing with juvenile offenders has convinced the writer of the futility of most of our efforts after the child has been allowed to become such a serious problem as to need the attention of legal authorities. The child who shows symptoms of becoming delinquent must be discovered at the earliest possible moment. Inasmuch as the sociological, psychological, and medical concomitants of delinquency and crime are now well known, it would seem possible to use some method of discovering predelinquent children before their problems become too acute.

Since all children attend school, at least in the early grades, school would seem to be the logical place to discover the predelinquent while his delinquent tendencies are still in the incipient stages of development. Previous studies have convinced the writer that this is possible. Later, comparisons with juvenile-court statistics, together with other evidence, will be given in confirmation of this belief.

A total of 55,995 children were attending the schools surveyed in the ten cities.<sup>1</sup> Of this number, 1,343 were

<sup>1</sup>Copies of the schedule used in this study may be secured from the Big Brothers and Big Sisters Federation, Inc., New York.

listed as problems. This shows the percentage of problem children to be 2.4. It is interesting to note that, for cities from 15,000 to 100,000 population, there is apparently little relationship between the size of the city and percentage of problem children reported. For example, the second largest city is third from the lowest in percentage of predelinquents reported in its schools. The relationship as shown by rank order correlation is .333 with a probable error of plus or minus .197. This means that the correlation is almost negligible. The cities vary in the percentage of problem children from 1.2 to 5.3 of those attending school.

TABLE I

<i>Cities</i>	<i>Number Children Attending Schools Surveyed</i>	<i>Number Problem Children</i>	<i>Percent- age</i>	<i>Number Boys</i>	<i>Number Girls</i>	<i>Per Cent Boys</i>	<i>Per Cent Girls</i>
Total . . .	55,995	1,343	2.4	1,075	268	80.2	19.8
Bloomington	2,770	38	1.4	34	4	89.5	10.5
Decatur ..	6,802	138	2.0	119	19	86.2	13.8
Elgin . . . .	4,898	106	2.2	87	19	82.1	17.9
Jacksonville	350	9	2.6	5	4	55.6	44.4
Peoria . . . .	9,849	308	3.1	249	59	80.8	19.2
Rock Island	3,340	98	2.8	81	17	82.6	17.4
South Bend	11,646	174	1.5	131	43	75.3	24.7
Terre Haute	5,784	306	5.3	238	68	77.8	22.2
Vincennes .	1,640	19	1.2	10	9	52.6	47.4
Racine . . . .	8,826	147	1.7	121	26	82.3	17.7

In Table I will be found the number and percentage of problem children reported by cities and by sex, boys and girls. From this it can be seen that 80.2 per cent of the problem children are boys and 19.8 per cent are girls. This means that four boys are listed as problems for each girl so listed. Juvenile-court statistics for the United States give approximately 83 per cent boys and 17 per cent girls. This is an interesting confirmation of the theory that these are the children who will later find their way into the juvenile courts.

It is a well-known fact that the peak of truancy comes at thirteen years of age. A previous survey has shown that age thirteen shows the greatest number of predelinquent boys. This study again shows that the thirteen-year-age



group has the highest percentage of predelinquents to be found in the public schools. But ages fourteen, fifteen, eleven, and twelve give almost as high a percentage. Ages ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, fourteen, and fifteen account for 67.3 per cent of the predelinquents.

Table II gives the per cent of problem children reported for each age group. From this it can be seen that the cities vary considerably in the percentage reported for different age groups. Jacksonville, for example, lists 55 per cent as being fifteen years of age. This is due to the fact that only junior-high-school pupils are reported in this city.

TABLE II  
PERCENTAGE OF PROBLEM CHILDREN IN EACH AGE GROUP

*A survey of problem children in (1) Bloomington, (2) Decatur, (3) Elgin, (4) Jacksonville (5) Peoria, (6) Rock Island, Illinois; (7) South Bend, (8) Terre Haute, (9) Vincennes, Indiana; and (10) Racine, Wisconsin.*

Age	Cities Total %	(1) %	(2) %	(3) %	(4) %	(5) %	(6) %	(7) %	(8) %	(9) %	(10) %
5.....	0.7	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.6
6.....	1.5	2.8	.0	1.9	.0	1.4	.0	1.1	3.0	.0	1.3
7.....	3.9	8.3	10.4	1.9	.0	3.2	.0	2.9	5.4	.0	1.3
8.....	6.3	8.3	8.0	2.8	.0	6.2	1.0	5.3	9.8	.0	6.1
9.....	8.5	11.1	12.8	2.8	.0	12.0	3.1	4.0	9.5	5.2	9.5
10.....	9.9	8.3	8.0	5.7	.0	14.6	8.3	5.2	11.9	.0	11.5
11.....	10.6	8.3	10.4	6.8	.0	11.3	3.1	5.2	15.6	21.0	13.6
12.....	10.6	.0	10.4	9.5	.0	12.7	6.2	11.0	11.9	31.6	8.1
13.....	12.5	16.6	15.2	2.8	.0	12.4	13.5	14.5	15.0	5.2	10.8
14.....	12.4	16.6	11.2	11.4	.0	13.8	19.8	15.7	8.1	10.5	11.5
15.....	11.3	16.6	6.4	17.2	55.6	6.9	25.0	14.0	6.1	21.0	13.6
16.....	7.0	2.8	6.4	15.2	33.3	3.6	13.5	14.6	2.3	.0	5.4
17.....	2.8	.0	.8	8.4	.0	1.0	5.2	5.2	.6	5.2	4.0
18.....	1.0	.0	.0	9.5	11.1	.3	1.0	.0	.0	.0	1.3
19.....	.3	.0	.0	3.8	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.0	.6

The fifth grade upholds its reputation as being a critical point in the school system by leading all the other grades in the percentage of problem children it contains. Over one sixth, 16.2 per cent, of all the problem children are found in this grade. The third grade follows next with 13.9 per cent. In close sequence comes the sixth grade with 12.6 per cent, the fourth grade with 12.4 per cent, the second grade with 11.2 per cent. A study in the same cities made by the writer a year previously yielded strikingly similar results in this respect. A rank order correlation between the two studies gives .90 with a P. E. of plus or minus .04.

Table III gives the percentage distribution by grades for each of the cities.

TABLE III

## PER CENT OF PROBLEM CHILDREN IN EACH GRADE

A survey of problem children in (1) Bloomington, (2) Decatur, (3) Elgin, (4) Jacksonville, (5) Peoria, (6) Rock Island, Illinois; (7) South Bend, (8) Terre Haute, (9) Vincennes, Indiana; and (10) Racine, Wisconsin.

Cities Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Kindergarten...	6	0	3	1	0	0	0	1	5	8
1.....	10.8	13.9	14.7	4.6	0	10.6	0	6.8	10.6	6.5
2.....	11.2	11.1	14.7	3.1	0	14.0	4.3	7.5	10.6	16.4
3.....	13.9	5.5	12.1	4.6	0	16.3	7.6	7.5	21.6	26.3
4.....	12.4	19.4	15.6	6.2	0	13.6	7.6	6.4	16.8	15.8
5.....	15.2	13.9	10.4	14.0	0	16.0	13.1	18.4	15.7	19.6
6.....	12.6	11.1	16.5	10.9	0	11.6	18.5	23.9	4.7	9.8
7.....	11.0	13.9	8.0	9.3	44.4	11.3	25.0	10.9	7.8	7.3
8.....	7.5	11.1	2.6	9.3	55.6	6.0	11.9	13.7	1.1	13.9
9.....	2.5	0	1.7	6.2	0	10.9	5.4	0	0	4.0
10.....	4	0	2	3.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
11.....	1	0	0	3.1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Special.....	0	0	0	21.8	0	0	0	0	0	0

Intelligence quotients were given for 442 of the total of 1,343 children reported as predelinquents. We find that 16.8 per cent are in the group ranging between 40 and 70 in their intelligence quotients and classified as feeble-minded. Another 19.6 per cent have intelligence quotients between 70 and 80 and are classified as borderline defectives. A slightly higher percentage, 23.9 per cent, are classified as dull normal with intelligence quotients between 80 and 90. This peak falls where we have learned to expect delinquent children. As a group they usually average between 80 and 90 in their intelligence quotients. Almost a third, 30.4 per cent, of our predelinquents fall within the normal range from 90 to 110 I.Q., while 8.7 per cent are definitely superior in intelligence as judged by our tests.

Table IV gives this data in concise form for each of the cities as well as the totals.

TABLE IV

## PERCENT OF PROBLEM CHILDREN IN EACH I.Q. GROUP

A survey of problem children in (1) Bloomington, (2) Decatur, (3) Elgin, (4) Jacksonville, (5) Peoria, (6) Rock Island, Illinois; (7) South Bend, (8) Terre Haute, (9) Vincennes, Indiana; and (10) Racine, Wisconsin.

Cities Total	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
I.Q.	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
40-49.....	1.8	0	0	0	0	0	5.1	0	0	0
50-59.....	2.4	0	0	2.7	0	4.8	5.1	3.5	0	0
60-69.....	12.6	5.3	0	10.8	11.1	14.6	16.6	14.5	7.1	63.3
70-79.....	19.6	26.3	0	12.1	33.3	26.8	25.0	33.6	28.5	33.3
80-89.....	23.9	23.7	0	22.9	11.1	36.6	19.4	20.4	21.4	6.6
90-99.....	16.9	18.4	0	10.8	33.3	7.3	13.9	12.0	17.8	6.6
100-109.....	13.5	15.8	0	24.3	11.1	4.8	13.9	10.2	14.2	0
110-119.....	6.5	0	0	14.8	0	0	2.8	6.8	3.5	0
120-129.....	2.2	10.5	0	1.3	0	4.8	8.3	3.5	0	6.8

Only 3 per cent of these predelinquents fail to be noted as showing one or more of the characteristics listed on the

schedule under "Social Maladjustment." Next in order of number comes the heading, "Miscellaneous," which includes various forms of school maladjustment. Here we find 83 per cent of the predelinquents listed. "Defective Home Conditions" are shown to exist in 77 per cent of these predelinquents. This means that the teachers are aware of the existence of these conditions in this number of cases. Almost two thirds, 61 per cent, are "Irregular in Attendance" at school and 46 per cent have "Physical Abnormalities" of varying degrees of seriousness.

Some of the symptoms most frequently listed under "Social Maladjustment" are, in decreasing order of number, "constantly annoys children near by," "misconduct in school," "general disobedience and disrespect for authority, rules, etc.," "quarrels with other children," "indifferent to rights and opinions of others," "lacks good sportmanship," "lies," "inability to appreciate consequences," "easily led," "uncleanliness of body and clothes," "tries to dominate other children," "associates with bad companions," "abnormal desire for attention."

Under "Miscellaneous" the most frequently mentioned items are "lack of sustained attention," "over age for grade," "subject matter too hard for mental level," "does well in some subjects, poorly in others," "dislike for type of schoolwork offered," in the order named. The items listed most frequently under "Defective Home Conditions" are "inadequate parental supervision," "poverty," "ignorance of parents," "indifference of parents," and "low moral standards exist in the home." The reasons for "Irregular Attendance" are "lack of parental interest in school," "lack of interest on part of pupil," "often absent without parents' knowledge or consent," and "parents keep child out for trivial reasons." "Undernourishment" heads the list of items under "Physical Abnormalities." This is followed by "defective teeth," "unduly awkward" "defective vision," and "defective speech," in the order named.

Mention has already been made of the fact that approximately four times as many boys as girls are listed as pre-

delinquents. It was also pointed out that this proportion is almost identical with that found in the juvenile courts of the country. Comparing the boys and girls relative to the frequency with which the separate items in our questionnaire are checked, there are certain characteristics in which they differ. Only 22 per cent of the predelinquent girls are reported for "misconduct in school" as contrasted with 46 per cent of the predelinquent boys. Boys are much more likely to manifest "general disobedience and disrespect for authority, rules, etc.," than are girls. Here the percentage is 23 for the girls and 45 for the boys, more than one third. Boys are likely to "annoy other children." Almost one half, 48 per cent, of the boys are reported on this item and only 31 per cent of the girls. On the other hand, predelinquent girls are more likely to show timidity and inferiority feelings. This item is mentioned for 31 per cent of the predelinquent girls and 14 per cent of the predelinquent boys. Predelinquent girls show more abnormal interest in sex. The percentage is three times as high for girls as for boys. The percentage of predelinquent girls who are overdeveloped physically for their age is five times as great as for predelinquent boys.

## THE TRANSITION FROM HOME TO SCHOOL

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Until recent years adults have thought that the child's social and emotional life really began when he entered school. The general idea was that he started school unformed—a blank wax disk upon which, with the help of the teachers, life was to be developed and recorded. We now believe that the child does not enter school a social and emotional blank, but that he already bears the imprint of five important years of association with his family, his playmates, and his neighborhood. These early contacts form the underlying attitudes and reactions upon which the pattern of his social and emotional life are based. The teacher must realize that these early impressions, often only faintly outlined, have been recorded, and that her success as a teacher and a guide will depend largely upon her understanding and interpretations of the past record.

That these initial impressions are important has been borne out by psychologists and psychiatrists in their work with adults who thought the problems of their childhood had been completely obliterated. In the process of their work, they have discovered that many adult problems are based upon the conceptions of early childhood. This has motivated further study of children's attitudes towards their home, their playmates, and their school experiences. Parents are beginning to recognize the fact that even a small child of preschool age has ideas and opinions of how things should be in his life. These opinions are important, faulty though they may be, because they are the key to the child's inner life and his outlook upon the world.

This being true, we should consider more critically the child's introduction to the larger world through his entrance into school. It is only recently that the teacher of the kindergarten and primary grades has been looked upon as an important person in the school system, except as she

enters into the process of teaching the child to read and to become acclimated to school procedure. When mental-hygiene work was inaugurated in the school, many teachers of the primary grades said, "It is all very interesting, but you know we do not have problem children in the first and second grades; ours are too small." It is generally recognized now, however, that many of the problems of the intermediate grades were already present in the first grade. When the child is younger he lacks the courage to define his objections and is more easily controlled. The problem is there, but the child has not found himself sufficiently to be able to make his difficulties felt.

It will not be surprising if as time goes on the teacher of the lower grades will be looked up to as having the most strategic position of any teachers in the school. There was a time when the teachers who had had the most training and "were able to get along better with children" were placed in the higher grades, and the weaker teacher was relegated to the young child because "he did not matter so much." The physician of olden time was looked upon as a "curer," he was only called in when home remedies failed. Now we realize that the old axiom, "An ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure," is sounder policy. This change in point of view is making itself felt through mental hygiene in the realm of education. We are increasingly realizing that our greatest effort and teaching talent is wisely invested in the early school years.

It is the purpose of this paper to discuss some of the underlying factors that lead to maladjustment in the transition from home to school. Studies in psychology, mental hygiene, and sociology have stressed the importance of a more scientific and consistent emphasis upon the training and guidance of teachers in the lower grades. If this interest in the young child is left to the educational authorities outside the school, education will never realize its ultimate goal; for it is the classroom teacher, who has daily contact with the child, upon whom rests the success or failure of these adjustments.

The first experiences of the child are in the primary

groups which consist of the family, the playgroup, and the gang. The family is without question the most salient factor of the three. It is within this group that the child conceives his initial attitudes towards the playgroup and the gang, becomes conditioned in his reactions towards the church and school, and formulates opinions concerning the larger community. His contacts outside the home in later years change these first attitudes to some extent, but they will never entirely obliterate them. Therefore, the thoughts, ideas, and opinions of the small child, however hazy they may be, assume greater importance than is usually attributed to them by adults. If the school proposes to fulfill its mission in preparing the child for life in our civilization, these early forces must be recognized, and a school program will have to be formulated in which and through which the home can be studied and interpreted. Some of our more progressive schools have already initiated such programs.

The school experience is the first major experience of the child in which he is "on his own." This initiation into the world—his world—is not looked upon seriously by many parents and teachers. In fact, the full significance as to what this first attempt in adjustment means to the child is not grasped by many school administrators. A recent survey of first-grade failures shows that an average of seventeen per cent of children fail to attain their first promotion. Whether this failure comes at the end of the first term or year depends upon the school's policy of promotions. In either case it occurs early in the school life of the child. This means that almost one fifth of all the children entering first grade fail in their first independent attempt to compete with their fellows. These are statistics of academic failure alone. No attempt has been made to record those children who are "promoted" but fail in their social and emotional adjustments. Little attempt has been made to discover what proportion of these academic failures reflects social and emotional failures. However, we find when these academic failures are studied individually that

many of them are not the result of retarded mentality, but are due to some other maladjustment.

The problem of the child's first adjustment to school is somewhat different in the crowded city than it is in the rural and smaller suburban community. If the child goes to school with his playmates, if the school registration is small, and the teachers are a part of the community, then the child does not feel that he is entering an entirely new world of strangers. In the large city, however, the school world is not only new but strange. We will first consider the average public school of a large city.

The child who has been allowed to "run the streets" is undoubtedly less affected by some of the social experience of the school than the child who has been more carefully guarded. But the child who has been allowed his freedom may resent the confinement and quiet of the school and defy the rules and regulations of classroom procedure. He has become accustomed to thrills. Racing ambulances, fire engines, and police patrols are to him far more interesting than the routine work of the school. Assignments are unrelated to his life out of school, and he is confronted with an entirely new set of values. His five or six years of experience in life has taught him how to take care of himself on the streets, to fight for his younger brothers and sisters, to "snitch" food from street markets, to provide fuel for the family, to abide by the code of his street gang. He has come to the school from crowded tenement rooms in which there has been little thought of training in what we term "manners." He has learned that he should "keep from underfoot," look after himself, and come in when it is time to go to bed. Now this child is confronted with such standards as "politeness," clean hands and face, clean clothes, obedience to rules, and concentration on reading.

These standards are not only new and strange, not only run counter to habits about which the child's life is organized—they are as well difficult of realization in his home and neighborhood environment. As a simple illustration let us consider the matter of cleanliness. Social workers soon learn after visiting their clients in crowded city quar-



ters that the realization of their standards of cleanliness is difficult if not absolutely impossible in the average tenement. There must first be the opportunity to be clean. Our American ideals in this respect have been set up on the basis of bathrooms, hot and cold running water, abundance of towels and washcloths, and individual toothbrushes. In many homes these ideals cannot be carried out even if there is a wish to comply. With eight or ten children in the home of three or four rooms, no bathroom, no hot running water, and an absence of linen, the busy mother of the tenements has all she can do to get the children clothed at all; and bathing is a luxury.

The schools should consider cleanliness and sanitation as a vital part of their curriculum, but if the child is humiliated or brought into conflict with the family by the methods used by the school in its endeavor to raise his standards, then the personality of the child may suffer more than his body will be helped by more applications of water. Such suggestions as, "Go home and tell your mother to wash your neck," or "You naughty boy, look at your dirty hands," seldom stimulate the child to be fond of his school or his teacher, especially if they are given in the presence of his classmates.

Particularly is it important to keep in mind, in case of the child of foreign parentage, that the attitudes of his family and community reflect a culture very different from our own, that situations are defined for him after patterns utterly unlike those presented by the school, that he is praised at home for the very things for which he is blamed at school. If the customs of other national and cultural groups were better understood by school and teacher, they would guide him more wisely in his first adjustments to the standards of the larger American community.

These children of the city who have had associations with older boys and girls in gang life have learned a code of behavior which is often in opposition to that of the adult world as represented by the school. The child in the gang begins to look upon any adult as a person who is not to be trusted, who will interfere with the gang's activities, who does not play fair with the child. This same child

accepts the gang code—"Never tell on a member of your gang, consider all members of other gangs as enemies, never tell an adult any of your business." When such a child is admitted into our schools, he should be accepted as a child who has had unfortunate guidance and not as an individual who should be isolated for fear that he will contaminate other children. He will become a citizen in our community, and in the early school years these gang ideals can be best interpreted in terms of the standards of the community. Defying him will at once confirm his already formed opinions of the adult. Understanding him will place him and the teacher in the only position in which he can gain insight into law and order. These children have all the potentialities for successful development. Our schools must begin to accept and salvage the leadership, the alertness, and loyalty that they represent. Our schools have too long welcomed only those children who have been fortunate enough to have been born into families in which the mores of the school are accepted.

On the other hand, the child who has been protected and, according to our standards, well trained is often overwhelmed by the magnitude of the school and the contacts with many children. He learns that the teacher approves of his clean hands and good clothes, but that many of the children whom he admires most are scornful of such unimportant matters. He longs to be on his own, but he is fearful of the rush and complexity of his new freedom. He feels from the first that he is out of step with the "regular fellows." We often find that these carefully protected children are unable to wait upon themselves. Many parents are ignorant of facts concerning the ability of children to attend to their own wants. Children of school age should be able to dress and undress themselves, go to school unaccompanied, and be able to enter a group of children without self-consciousness. Thoughtful parents are constantly asking how they can help their children to grow up. As a matter of fact, many parents are unconsciously preventing this growth by the overprotection they think of as devotion.

Considering these children in our city schools, it will be seen that the teacher cannot effectively guide their adjustments without knowing about their homes, the mores of their groups, the ideals of their parents, relationships to brothers and sisters, and the personality of the individual child. Although, as has been stated, the problem of the rural and suburban school is somewhat different, nevertheless there are many problems that may confront any child when he first leaves his home and begins his formal education.

The child's adjustment to school is also dependent upon the attitudes that have been built up in the home concerning school. If his parents have criticized the school, or spoken disparagingly of the teachers, he will naturally think that he has the equal right to criticize. Mothers are prone to tell the young child that the teacher will beat him if he is not a good boy, or that she will laugh at him if he does not do as well as his older brothers and sisters. The teacher has to break down these attitudes. It is unfortunate that many teachers do not realize that the child himself is not responsible for his attitude. If he is misunderstood in this respect the teacher may only confirm his preconceived notions rather than help to give him a more wholesome outlook.

Since the school is a social group, the child's adjustment to school is also dependent upon his ability to get along with other children. A boy of six had mathematical abilities far in advance of his chronological age. He was able to give the day of the week upon which future dates would fall. This "stunt" had been a delight to his parents and relatives. When he came to school he tried his "accomplishment" upon the other children and was dismayed that they were not interested. He also learned to his amazement that being able to run and to catch a ball were highly regarded by his classmates. These latter abilities were out of his line. For the first time he found himself defeated in spite of the approbation that had always been his. He disliked school and soon became a problem to his teacher. He was placed in a private school and again

had difficulty in adjusting himself to his classmates. Now in early adolescence he is an unhappy boy in spite of his high I.Q. and his good family background.

If all children were given the opportunity to play with other children, without interference on the part of their parents, in the preschool years, these tragically inadequate personalities would not demand attention as they come into the public school. But too many parents, from fear of contaminations both moral and otherwise, keep their child from necessary contacts with other children; or watch over and supervise their early contacts. As a result the child comes to school unable to hold his own in the group relationships into which he is thrown.

There are many other problems involved for child and teacher in the transition from home to school. Essentially, they all fall into two groups: first, those problems arising out of the necessity of adjusting to new standards and requirements of behavior; and second, those arising out of the necessity of entering into new personal and social relationships. If school and teacher do not understand the child's background of family and community experience, conflict is the inevitable result of the attempt to impose upon him new standards of behavior. If school and teacher, again, fail to estimate accurately the child's independence and adaptability, insecurity is the inevitable result of the many new personal and social relationships in which he finds himself involved. In either case, the child's first experience with the larger world will result in a failure to adjust successfully. At the end of a year of such failure he will be left resentful or bewildered and inadequate. These attitudes, we have ample evidence, are likely to become basic to his outlook, first upon school, and later upon society. There is no overestimating the importance of the transition from home to school. There is no overestimating the school's responsibility for intelligently guiding the child through this transition. There is no overestimating the insight and skill of the classroom teacher who can successfully deal with the problems that arise in the course of this transition.

# THE ACTIVITY PROGRAM IN THE NEWARK SCHOOLS FROM A MENTAL-HYGIENE PIONT OF VIEW

HELEN TROLAN

Newark Public Schools

There has been an increasing interest in mental hygiene during the past few years, and clinics have been started in many cities to treat the children who have shown a marked degree of personality maladjustment. Educators have been led to think along the lines of preventive work in the schools, particularly in the primary grades. The school as an institution was for many years thought of only in connection with the learning of skills. In recent years, however, educators have come to realize that this narrow conception of the school is not fitting the child for his future responsibilities.

We know that in a social organization, when an institution relinquishes any of its work, that work must automatically fall on the shoulders of some other institution in that social organization. The institutions of the home and the church have undergone numerous changes. The lack of mechanical aids in the home of the past necessitated the sharing of tasks and contributed more opportunities for participation in home activity than the present home set-up. As a member of the home each child had his individual responsibilities for the welfare and comfort of the family, and in the performance of his duties the child developed character traits such as independence, resourcefulness, initiative, thoughtfulness, and responsibility. Today, with the changed organization of the home, the father is away all day, the mother is out of the home more than formerly; and almost all recreation is gained outside the home. The unity and independence of the members of a family have been weakened and the opportunities for character training in the home have been diminished. The position of the church in the education and training of children has also

been replaced by other interests. It is because of these changes that educational institutions have of necessity assumed responsibility for character education.

In recent years there has been an increasing consciousness of the need for personality development and character education in the schools. We know that failure in one's work or profession is more often due to a lack in personality adjustment than to a lack of knowledge. The old school gave little thought to the development of the child's personality and often had a decided repressive effect. The child was required to be calm and quiet in the classroom, willing to listen, learning exactly what every other child learned, speaking only when spoken to, and was given no opportunity to develop his own interests and talents. The child's initiative was dulled and his interests were curbed. He learned his lessons—often very satisfactorily from a factual point of view. In contrast to this narrow conception of education the new school has developed using various names such as progressive, project method, activity program, unified curriculum, and has a broader definition of education.

The aim of the progressive school is the development of the whole child; *i.e.*, his personality, his emotional stability, his physical condition, and his intellect. Experiments in this type of school were at first limited to the private schools, and for a number of years it was felt that a free program would be impossible in a large city school with classes averaging forty children. It is true that a small group would simplify teaching under any method, but it has been proved that a successful activity program can be carried on with a large group of children.

Newark's activity program was started officially three years ago. Before this, however, there had been a definite trend in many of the schools towards informality in the classroom. In other schools, experiments in the newer methods had been carried on in an attempt to decide which methods best suited a large city school system with large classes. Demonstration lessons and discussion groups were carried on to familiarize the teachers with the new methods,

but there were no hard-and-fast rules for them to follow. Each teacher was allowed as much freedom in working out her unit of work as was desired. Assistance was available from the supervisors; but the supervisors did not visit the classroom except on the invitation of the teacher.

The first two grades of the elementary school were selected to try out the new curriculum. As in other progressive schools, the development of the personality, including initiative, self-confidence, and self-reliance was to be considered of prime importance. Although reading and arithmetic were not to be ignored, neither were they to be considered the paramount aim of the program. The skills were to be developed along the lines of interest rather than through coercion. It was felt that even if the children did not acquire a knowledge of reading and arithmetic in the first two grades, these skills would be acquired much more rapidly when the child became interested or when he was older. This would be particularly advantageous for the dull child.

The transition from home to school has been difficult for many children. Even those who have attended kindergarten have found difficulty in adjusting themselves to a whole day of formal work. The freedom allowed the children simplified this to a great extent, and in planning the course of study an attempt was made to simplify this transition by selecting as the first unit of work a project which was within the experience of every child. The home was chosen as being most familiar to the children. The child, understanding this work, is eager to contribute from his experiences. He is given new and easy social contacts and his emotional dependence on his home is gradually broken down. A discussion period precedes the actual work on the project. Here the children are given experience in social intercourse. Their ideas are treated seriously and, if acceptable to the class, are incorporated in the work of the project. The shy child is encouraged to take part, even if at first it is only a matter of agreeing with a more outspoken child. He is not commanded to be active, but opportunities are made to draw him into the group. The

more officious child learns that he may not monopolize the conversation but must consider the rights of others. His desire to participate is not completely repressed, but is controlled in order that he may learn how to take part in a social group larger than the one at home, and that the other children may not feel it is futile to attempt competition with one so aggressive. In this discussion period the children learn to express themselves freely and to judge their own ideas and those of the other children critically. It provides a setting in which the child may learn to give and receive criticism objectively and impersonally.

Development of individual interests and coöperation with other members of the group are included in the aims of the new program. We know that a child is more interested in the approbation of his own social group than in the opinion of his elders, and that the approval of his group is often an incentive for the child to conform socially. When every child was doing the same work it did not matter to the class whether or not a particular child completed his work, but in carrying out a unit of work each child learns that the success or failure of the project depends upon himself and that failure to finish a task will mean the failure of the project and the disapproval of his classmates. He sees the need of coöperating with the others and feels his responsibility to the group.

The activity program provides every child with a means of success. There is a task for every level of ability and the child gains a feeling of confidence by the successful performance of his own work. He does not attempt abstract academic work before he is ready for it, and even then he progresses at his own rate of speed. The bright child is no longer retarded while the average and dull child learn the work of the grade. Enforced idleness of the bright child was at the root of many careless habits of work and sometimes resulted in behavior problems.

One of the most important features of the activity program in the Newark schools is the rule of one hundred per cent promotion for the first two years. Each child is given a sense of achievement by being promoted regularly



with his age group. At one time the ability to read a certain book or number of words was a requisite to promotion from 1B to 1A. Owing to a feeling of strangeness at the beginning of the term, excessive absence due to illness, or a lack of ability, a high percentage of first-grade children were forced to repeat the grade. A similar happening occurred at the end of each term. The effect of this failure on a small child is difficult to estimate. He starts his school career with the feeling of being incompetent and this leads to a feeling of inferiority. His overt manifestation of grief over the failure may be short-lived, but the feeling of inadequacy and inferiority is more lasting. This retardation also takes him out of his age grouping and keeps him with younger children. In his effort to compensate for the feeling of inferiority he now has, he may discover that the only way in which he is superior is in size and ability to annoy both children and teachers. Many problems of discipline are found in this over-age group.

At home the child who has failed may be scolded and punished; his parents may reject him because he is not a credit to them; and his siblings may taunt him because of his failure. On the other hand the parents may shield the child and rationalize his failure by blaming the school. They may tell the child that he was unfairly treated, thereby giving the child the feeling that the school is against him. In this case the home and school relationship becomes an unfriendly one. Neither of these attitudes on the part of parents is healthy for the child, but they are the reactions in many instances when the school fails to handle the matter of promotion successfully.

Repetition of a grade is sometimes defended by the teacher on the basis that it is better for the child to have an acute but short-lived feeling of failure than to allow him to proceed with the class and have him feel inadequate and inferior to the others during the entire term. In a school in which ability in reading and arithmetic are the sole criteria of success, this is probably true, but in an activity program the school day is so varied that there is an opportunity for each child to be successful at some-

thing. It is also expected that children will be working on different levels and the only comparison made will be of the child's present accomplishment with his past work and not a comparison of two children.

Individualized instruction has to a certain extent decreased the habit of comparing children in order to encourage the laggard to work harder. The comparison of two children under any circumstance is not in accord with mental-hygiene principles and has a deleterious effect on both children. The child unfavorably compared only has his sense of inadequacy strengthened, and the one praised is inclined to feel superior and smug. The informality of the project method gives the teacher an opportunity to learn something of the home situation of each child. It may be gained through conversations with the child or by hearing casual conversations between two children. This knowledge of the child's background enables her to handle the child and his problems more intelligently.

Although the new school is considered and sometimes called a child-centered school, the place of the teacher in the set-up is even more important than formerly. If the new school aims to develop a child who is resourceful, dependable, and reliable, and one who has initiative and independence of thought, it must strive to employ only those teachers who possess these qualities. This type of teaching also requires a teacher with an understanding of mental hygiene. She must be interested in the child as an individual and his development on his own level rather than the academic achievement of the class as a whole.

With this type of teacher to carry out an activity program, both the children and the teacher will enjoy the school day to a greater extent than was possible under the old régime. There is less tension in the classroom and the teacher is not overtired by the effort of keeping forty children quiet, and by attempting to teach every child the lessons of the day regardless of his ability or desire to do the work. The unusual and clever teacher is given an opportunity to use her ability and initiative in teaching in a way that has never been possible before. There is no

barrier in the way of a course of study to prevent her from developing the talents of her class. Her interest in teaching is *greater because* there is an opportunity for personal growth. We cannot say that the unified curriculum will make a good teacher of a poor one, but it gives the good teacher an opportunity to become a better one.

During the experiment in this work, the teacher has been shown the confidence of the administration in that there has been no critical supervision. The effect of the old type of supervision on the teacher has been varied. In some cases it had been impossible for a teacher to do her best work while the supervisor was present. The tension which she felt had its effect on her handling of the children. Today the function of the supervisor is one of help and constructive criticism. The supervisors of Newark have done research in curriculum revision and have compiled pamphlets for individual teacher reference in each subject. They have been instrumental in having model lessons in the unified curriculum demonstrated by competent teachers, and they are eager to assist any teacher who calls upon them for help.

One of the criticisms of this type of school is that the children do not learn the fundamentals as formerly. It is true that the personality of the child is given more thought than the fundamentals. However, the skills need not be neglected. When the need arises the child learns quickly, and most of the fundamentals are taught in connection with the project. However, present-day educators do not feel that immediate need is the only reason for teaching the skills, for most children enjoy learning new things, and interest in reading and arithmetic can be stimulated by the teacher. The fact that the child has some immediate use for this information helps him to maintain his faith in the teacher's statement that these skills are necessary to him.

Another criticism of the new school is that the learning is "sugar coated"; the argument is that life is not always simple and easy and that children should learn to face difficult situations while they are still young. This indicates

a misunderstanding of the work done in the new school. On the whole the child now works harder over his project, which is a unit in the class project, than he ever did over his more formal work. The difference is in the attitude of the child; in this instance he sees the need himself and having assumed the responsibility for a piece of work does not consider defaulting, whereas in former years the child did the work as a task assigned to him to be done either to escape disapprobation or to gain praise. Either of these attitudes was unhealthy from a mental-hygiene point of view.

Criticisms of the new curriculum have been accepted and studied. In the three years since the instigation of this program changes in policy and methods have been introduced whenever it was necessary to ensure the success of the program. On the whole we feel that the work has been successful from a mental-hygiene point of view and that mental-hygiene principles are being incorporated in our handling of all the school children rather than being used exclusively for children who have shown lack of adjustment. The instigation of this program in the schools and the development of the recreation department which carries on the work after school hours have been two important steps forward in Newark's educational program.

## TEACHERS' PERSONALITIES AND THE PROBLEMS OF CHILDREN

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Teacher training, the equipment of those who are to assume a major responsibility in the education of each young generation, is receiving an increasing amount of attention, both from those who train and those who employ. Organization of courses and the content thereof, observation and training in practice, teaching procedures and technique, classroom organization, maintenance of discipline, have all undergone a continuous process of discussion, planning, and reorganization.

One important aspect of the teaching process, however, seems to have escaped attention until recently in all these discussions of teacher equipment—the personality of the teacher. I say escaped attention—perhaps taken for granted would be a better term. Personalities of great teachers have always been recognized and the personality of the teacher in relation to the children has undoubtedly been assumed as a part of the underlying foundation of the handling of content and of teaching technique. It has undoubtedly always been recognized that some teachers attract and inspire young people and others do not; some teachers get along with children and others do not; some teachers have difficulty with the important phase of classroom procedure known as discipline and others do not. Yet consideration of the teaching personality as a part of the basis for selection of those who enter teacher-training institutions is a relatively recent development.

Nevertheless, the "teaching personality" has been receiving more attention than formerly. The mental-hygiene movement, interest in child study, the greater realization of the part that attitudes play in the adjustment of individuals, and the effect of past experience upon the building up of those attitudes have all contributed to the under-

standing and the handling of the developing personalities of children. More slowly, the application of this sociological and psychological knowledge is being applied to the understanding of the similar problems in the personality development of the teacher. For with adults, as well as with children, personality is a "continuous becoming," never a thing achieved.<sup>1</sup>

The personality tests used in selection of personnel are examples of this interest in personality. Yet to date, such tests have been inadequate as a means of predicting success in social relationships, or determining with convincing accuracy, fitness for a particular profession. Personality, this dynamic something, bound up in and affecting all social relationships, remains a recognized, fundamental, but to date unmeasurable quality.

Yet, in our day-to-day contacts, personality issues are met and handled or mishandled. School administrators increasingly consider personalities in the organization of the school, in the selection of a teacher for a difficult class, in the placement of a troublesome child with "A," who probably "can get along with him," instead of with "B," who probably cannot. Teachers heave a sigh of relief when Fred or Billy or Susan, whom they "just could not stand anyway," goes on to another class. Parents report to neighbors or friends with a feeling of relief that Billy is "getting along" much better in the fourth grade than he did with his previous teacher. Every visiting teacher in an elementary school has had, at some time or another, the experience of seeing a child's difficulties apparently disappear after a promotion or transfer to a new teacher with a different attitude and a different disciplinary approach, to reappear again later—unless the child has improved in his ability to meet and handle his problem—when another new teacher personality appears upon the scene.

Teachers, school administrators, parents, children alike steadily build up capacities to rate and understand and handle personality issues in daily situations, and many administrators are unusually skillful in recognizing difficulties,

<sup>1</sup>Ruth H Hardy, "Freeing the Teacher," *Mental Hygiene*, January 1924.

predicting the types of personality that will get along, as we say, and bringing them together. Yet, of the specific underlying factors in personality relationships of teachers and pupils, the *whats* and the *whys*, so to speak, there has been little attempt at analysis.

What are some of these factors, with which we all must work in our everyday contacts with children? Personal problems of the teacher are probably one of the primary factors in teacher-pupil relationships, unhappy experiences which may or may not have been successfully handled. Let us take first one of the most common situations we as teachers meet, the type of child or type of behavior we "cannot stand." Those children we cannot endure are frequent subjects of conversations in formal school conferences, or more informal discussions in the lunchrooms or elsewhere where teachers converse. "I could like Jerry, if he weren't always so dirty." "I cannot stand a show-off child." "If there's anything I will not tolerate it's a sneak, or a cheat." "There is absolutely no excuse for his lying the way he does." "I will not have a child in my classroom who steals, or who uses vulgar language." Two elements are always present in such conversations as these. One is the extreme variation in the types of behavior which is not tolerated by those who discuss the problem. The other is the tendency to mete out more severe punishment to the child who presents the behavior that especially offends—this tendency to react emotionally to the behavior rather than to regard it with the much desired objective point of view so much discussed these days.

The variation in attitudes of individuals is in a way fortunate for the children. Otherwise, we would not see the result mentioned above of a child who causes difficulty with one teacher improving miraculously with another. It is frequently fortunate that a little day dreamer or a little show-off can go on from a teacher who can't tolerate such behavior to one who is not as a rule disturbed by it. Nevertheless the question arises—where do we get these attitudes; from whence come our "pet abominations"? Why do we react more violently to show-off actions, or day

dreaming, or dirtiness, or stealing, or sex behavior, or vulgarity? Why can we not attain this much desired objective point of view? The answer undoubtedly is bound up with the fact that we, even as the children, are conditioned by our own past experiences, that we too are working out difficulties in this "continuous becoming" that is personality development, that we too are struggling with fears and insecurity and possible or actual failure. When something a child does or is touches off our own problems, we do as they do, react emotionally in our handling of the child.

The explanation in each instance lies in the individual teacher, who can go a long way in her own understanding if she can stop when she finds some situation especially annoying and ask herself just why she is being so disturbed. The teacher who can then transfer her attention from her own annoyance to a real interest in understanding just what in the child's own situation is causing the behavior has made a first step in the more adequate handling of a personality relationship, and towards an objective point of view.

Aside from the individual situation always admittedly different, it is possible to discuss some general aspects of these pet abominations. An illustration or two may represent one of these ways in which a teacher's own personal problems affect the relationship with a child who unwittingly reminds her of them. The relationship may be constructive or destructive, as we shall see. A teacher recently was discussing with a group a thirteen-year-old girl in her junior-high-school class, a girl who was five feet seven inches tall, awkward, ungainly, self-conscious, ill at ease, avoiding social contacts with the other children. This teacher was "getting along" with the girl, who was showing improvement. The following remark is illuminating. "I think I know how to handle a girl or boy like this. I had reached my full growth at the age of 14, five feet, eight inches. I never will forget my own suffering when I sat in seats too small for me, and towered above the other children; how embarrassed I was every time I had to stand up, or appear before the group. I remember what a sense of security



I had when another girl much older but almost as tall entered the class. I felt less conspicuous when she was there, and I used to watch for her and go in with her. One day when she was absent, I went back home because I couldn't bear to go in without her. I often used to wonder whether the teacher knew how I was feeling every time she asked me to recite before the class, or go to the board. I do not think she did. But I determined that when I went into teaching, I would do all I could to help the overgrown boy or girl to feel comfortable. I know just how they feel."

Another teacher, a man, in the fifth grade, presented the other side of a picture involving personal relationships. In his class was a small boy, a shy, unsocial youngster, rather frail in physique, awkward in movements, given to day dreaming, and having difficult contacts with his classmates, who teased him and called him a "sissy." In general, he caused little trouble in the classroom, yet occasionally he baffled the teacher by attempts to show off, or sudden, unexpected spells of stubbornness. The child had been a "problem," as we say, chiefly because of school failure, from the second grade, and had shown considerable improvement under a general plan of giving him opportunities for success, ignoring his "spells" as much as possible, and trying to persuade his group to tease him less and include him in their games.

The "new" teacher dropped into the office to discuss this child, who had sulked all afternoon, and shown stubbornness at attempts "to make him do his work." The discussion was based on the past record of the boy, the discipline that had seemed to work and that which hadn't. The teacher's comment was, "I think the boy has not had enough firm discipline. This procedure is too 'soft.' He should be made to stand up for himself with the other boys; he should be made to do what he's supposed to do. He is not going to get away with anything in my class." Then at the door, he turned, "If there's anything I cannot stand," he said, "it's a sissy boy."

The principal, who was convinced that his "soft" measures were bringing results, closed the folder that contained

the evidence of those results and looked at the "new" teacher. He saw a man with a slight build, small hands and feet, a rather high voice. The principal had seen evidences of shyness and self-consciousness in the few social contacts in the school. And he probably drew his own conclusions. Why the harsher discipline recommended by the teacher? Why already the attempts to force a child, who only reacted by more sullenness when forced? That parting remark, "I can't stand a sissy boy," gives the clue to the answers. It would suggest to the teacher, if he were able to face it, the deeper reason for his feeling. The chances are that he saw in the child his own unhappy childhood, the inability to compete with stronger boys, because of a frail physique, the jibes and taunts of "sissy," the increasing difficulty in social relationships. And if this is the picture of his own past, the chances are that he will continue to handle sissy boys according to his emotional reaction, rather than according to the evidence in an accumulative record, unless, of course, some miracle enables him to recognize the relationship between him and the child, and to face and work out his own personal problem.

Why did the first teacher handle the problem of the tall child, where the second teacher failed to handle the problem of a sissy boy? The answer is simple, even if the solution is not. The tall teacher had faced her problem and worked through it to the point where there were no sensitive points to cause an emotional reaction. Her experiences had been assimilated and turned into increased understanding. The second teacher had not faced his, nor assimilated them. His own emotional response was touched off by the child who unwittingly reminded him of painful experiences that he had tried to forget. Never accepting his own "sissy" qualities, he refused to accept them in the boy. The solution? The child was transferred to another class at the earliest opportunity.

Another factor in teacher-pupil relationships is bound up with the success and failure of the teacher. Much has been written regarding success and failure in the mental hygiene of childhood, all to the effect that children need

success if they are to develop normally, and likewise need to experience and learn to handle failure. With adults, success and failure and its effect upon emotional growth are equally important. Teachers want to succeed; the general prevalence of extension courses and graduate work, the attendance upon lecture courses, conferences, and the like, are evidence of the teacher's desire to keep abreast of her field. In the face of increasing competition, teachers are striving to be placed on tenure, to achieve a good "rating" by the various supervisors or administrators, to win promotion in the ranks. The teacher who is meeting success is, as we say, secure. The one who feels she is making her way with difficulty, suffers insecurity, and to her, the child who is unmanageable becomes an additional threat.

Acceptance of failure is not always easy, and it is difficult to treat with equanimity the child who represents a failure. James, a handsome, well-built boy, was promoted to the fifth grade "on trial." His I.Q. was 85, but no one, not even the examiner, believed it, until a succession of tests gave a consistent showing. For James was bright eyed, alert in conversation, active in games. He was having increasing difficulty in schoolwork, and more and more prone to sit on the small of his back and lapse into his own fantasies. The fifth-grade teacher liked him; he reminded her of a small nephew of whom she was very fond, she "knew she could interest him and help him bring up his work." She did. With extra encouragement, help after school, constant urging, James did improve . . . for two weeks. Then he slumped more than ever. Additional encouragement, help, and urging were of no avail.

Then one day the teacher came to the office begging to have the child transferred. She "couldn't stand him in her classroom any longer." Inquiry revealed no serious misbehavior. He hadn't been impudent, thrown anything, or kicked anybody. He had merely sat for three days and looked bored.

Why the teacher's outburst? Again, the answer is simpler than the solution. She had failed in a goal she had set

for herself, and in this case an impossible one. James had responded; but when the pressure became too great, he reacted according to the old pattern, removing himself from the scene. For some reason, success in this case meant more than it should have to the teacher. She reacted not in terms of the problem itself, but in terms of her own disappointment in not being able to do what she had set out to do. If she had not set so high a goal of achievement, and if she had not cared quite so much, there might have been no disciplinary issue. And in the very extent of that caring lies the reason for her inability to accept and analyze objectively her failure.

Difference in standards represented by teachers and pupils is a third consideration in relationships. In general, we accept the modes of living to which we have been accustomed; in general, we are repelled by, or at least prone not to accept, situations or conditions that do not meet those standards. The most common behavior that causes an emotional reaction because it runs counter to accepted standards is undoubtedly stealing, lying, and sex offenses. Likewise, home conditions that reveal filth, drunkenness, immorality, shiftlessness, again shock or discourage those dealing with the children whose background is thus described; attitudes that unwittingly may be revealed to the child. What of a child whose father is in a State prison, or whose brother is a gangster, or whose mother is openly living with a succession of men, or who has a relative in a hospital for the insane? We find varying teachers' attitudes in cases such as these, from the one that expresses, "What can you expect with a family like that?" to one that accepts the child as he is and by that very acceptance helps him to believe that he is not necessarily doomed to insanity, immorality, or a criminal career.

We think often of these things in terms of comparison to our own standards; but do we as often think of the difficult adjustment of a child of six or seven or eight who realizes that his parents, whom he has accepted in his babyhood, and perhaps even respected or loved, are not accepted by his teacher or his classmates. If this thing

the sociologists call "status" is essential to normal development, such a child starts handicapped; and maladjustment, if his lack is sufficiently acute, is inevitable. There is no person in such a child's life whose rôle is more important than a teacher's, no one who can do as much to help build his self-respect—provided she can lay aside her own feelings towards the circumstances that surround him.

A little boy of nine, sensitive, shy, retiring, was failing in school, and given to day dreaming. A teacher discovered that the year before his mother had deserted him, running off with a man with whom she was living openly without the formality of divorce and remarriage. The child was being cared for by the maternal grandparents and an aunt who felt so disgraced by the whole affair that they were ashamed to meet their friends. The mother's name was never mentioned in the home, and the child's questions concerning his mother had met only with inadequate explanations.

The home condition may not necessarily be the cause of the failure or day dreaming. But whether it is or not, a teacher who looks for causes would recognize that this child is facing a difficult problem. She would know that he needed to be accepted, and if the relationship with his mother was a close one, he needed to have his mother accepted. A teacher who could fill such a need, who could help the child achieve an attitude that he need not feel forever disgraced, that while such things just aren't done in our present social world, nevertheless they do sometimes happen—who could talk to him about his mother and appreciate with him all the good qualities she possessed—would be doing far more for the development of this child than could be achieved by a direct attempt to rouse him from his day dream to attend to the immediate classwork. Tolerance towards behavior outside the usual is as much a part of the equipment of a teacher as academic knowledge or technical skill.

An entirely objective point of view towards the children who pass through our classrooms year after year is probably unattainable. As long as we are people in the process

of "becoming," we shall probably always like some children better than others; we shall probably react emotionally to failure, or to threats to our security, or to behavior that shocks or offends us because it is not in accord with our standards of right or wrong. Nevertheless, the achievement of such a point of view should be one of the teacher's goals. The teacher who is able to analyze the reasons why she cannot endure certain children, and deal with them so that they are made as little as possible aware of her feeling towards them; the teacher who is able to face her failures squarely and without too much emotion; the teacher who is steadily growing in tolerance for and capacity to understand behavior which she with her own standards cannot accept, whose very attitude towards the child who is "different" makes him feel comfortable in her presence—she is the teacher who is able to understand and handle successfully her personality relationships. She is in the process of attaining this thing called a mature personality, and she is the one to whom we will want to send our children for instruction and guidance.

## RECENT LITERATURE

The following recent books in the field of Guidance have been critically read by the reviewing staff of THE JOURNAL, and are recommended as valuable additions to the guidance shelf of every school library. They are among the outstanding books published in this field.

### ADMINISTRATION OF GUIDANCE FOR THE NORMAL CHILD

- Management and Teaching Technique*, by GEORGE A. RETAN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1933, 370 pages.
- The Rôle of the Teacher in Personnel Work*, by RUTH STRANG. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, 332 pages.
- Guidance in Secondary Schools*, by LEONARD V. KOOS and GRAYSON N. KREAUVER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1932, 640 pages.
- Adjusting the School to the Child*, by CARLETON WASHBURN. Yonkers: World Book Company, 1932, 189 pages.
- Fitting the School to the Child*, by PAUL R. MORT, W. W. WRIGHT, and W. B. FEATHERSTONE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932, 141 pages.
- Provisions for Individual Differences, Marking, and Promotion*, by ROY O. BILLETT. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933, 471 pages.
- Annual and Semi-Annual Promotion*, by J. ARMOUR LINDSAY. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, 170 pages.
- A Study of Ability Grouping in the Elementary Schools*, by PARL WEST. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, 70 pages.

### SOCIAL INFLUENCES ON THE ATTITUDES OF THE CHILD

- Social Development in Young Children*, by SUSAN ISAACS. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Company, 1933, 480 pages.
- Character in Human Relations*, by HUGH HARTSHORNE. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1932, 367 pages.
- Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, by RUTH C. PETERSON. *The Social Conduct Attitudes of Movie Fans*, by FRANK K. SHUTTLEWORTH and MARK A. MAY. (Bound in one volume.) New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 142 pages.
- Motion Pictures and Conduct*, by HERBERT BLUMER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 257 pages.
- Sex in Childhood*, by ERNEST R. GROVES and GLADYS HOAGLAND GROVES. New York: The Macaulay Company, 1933, 247 pages.
- The Family*, by ERNEST R. MOWRER. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932, 364 pages.
- A Bibliography on Family Relationships*, by FLORA M. THURSTON. New York: National Council of Parent Education, 1932, 273 pages.

## ADOLESCENT PROBLEMS

- Adolescent Psychology*, by ADA HART ARLITT. New York: American Book Company, 1933, 250 pages.
- The Adolescent Boy*, by WINIFRED V. RICHMOND. New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1933, 233 pages.
- Adolescent Girlhood*, by MARY CHADWICK. New York: The John Day Company, 1932, 303 pages.
- Case Studies of Normal Adolescent Girls*, by ELSIE M. SMITHIES. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933, 283 pages.

## EXCEPTIONAL CHILDREN

- The Handicapped Child*, Report of the Committee on Physically and Mentally Handicapped, of the White House Conference. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933, 452 pages.
- A Comparison of the Intelligence of Deaf and Hearing Children*, by KEITH MACKANE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, 47 pages.
- The Education of Visually Handicapped Children*, by RALPH VICKERS MERRY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, 243 pages.
- Teachers' Problems with Exceptional Children—I. Blind and Partially Seeing Children*, by BEATRICE MCLEOD. Pamphlet No. 40. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933, 32 pages.
- The Blind in School and Society*, by THOMAS D. CUTSFORTH. New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, Inc., 1933, 263 pages.
- Lateral Dominance and Visual Fusion* (a study of eyedness and handedness), by CHARLES A. SELZER. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, 119 pages.
- The Disabled Man and His Vocational Adjustment*, by ROY N. ANDERSON. New York: Institute for the Crippled and Disabled, 1932, 102 pages.
- Teachers' Problems with Exceptional Children—II. Gifted Children*, by ELSIE H. MARTENS. Pamphlet No. 41. Washington: United States Government Printing Office, 1933, 45 pages.
- Administration of Enrichment for Superior Children in the Typical Classroom*, J. EDGAR DRANSFIELD. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933, 105 pages.

## SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL MALADJUSTMENTS

- Juvenile Delinquency*, by WALTER C. RECKLESS and MAPHEUS SMITH. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1932, 412 pages.
- Movies, Delinquency and Crime*, by HERBERT BLUMER and PHILIP M. HAUSER. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 233 pages.
- 660 Runaway Boys*, by CLAIRETTE P. ARMSTRONG. Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1932, 208 pages.
- Psychiatry in Education*, by V. V. ANDERSON and WILLIE MAUDE KENNEDY. New York: Harper & Bros., 1932, 430 pages.
- The Dynamics of Therapy*, by JESSIE TART. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 296 pages.
- The Approach to the Parent—A Study in Social Treatment*, by ESTHER HENATH. New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1933, 163 pages.



## RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

A number of interesting research projects were reported upon at the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society which was held in Philadelphia from December 27 to 30, 1933.

The following abstract presents the gist of a paper given in the section on social statistics of the Society by Mrs. Sophie M. Robison of the Welfare Council of New York City under the title "The Apparent Influence of the Factors of Race and Nationality on the Extent of Juvenile Delinquent Behavior in New York City in the Year 1930."<sup>1</sup>

This study was undertaken because of the urgent need for a juvenile delinquency index in New York City. Issue was taken with a method of studying delinquency by neighborhoods in Shaw's Delinquency Areas, in the Wickersham Report, and in the New York State Crime Commission Study. The claim is made that this method is invalid both for the calculation of the numerators and denominators.

Appropriate numerators for delinquency rates should include evidences of delinquent conduct, known officially and unofficially, proscribed by the children's court code, because of the operation of group mores which influence: (1) the labeling of behavior as delinquent; (2) the extent to which outside assistance is requested; and (3) the set-up of unofficial agencies for substitutive care. The inconclusion of alleged as well as adjudged delinquency and the lack of standardizing for types of offense, age, and sex is also questionable. The validity of rates based on the geographic unit of population is contested. When the usual formulae are applied, these rates no longer hold. Although the formulae were all developed by empirical examination of data in the physical sciences; when we apply them to the social sciences, and particularly to the area rates in these other studies we discover that the requirements of the formulae of mutual independence of the factors are not met. A rate based on geography alone is therefore suspect.

The data of the present study are the 18,308 children, resident in New York City and known during the year 1930 to fifty odd agencies,

<sup>1</sup>This abstract is reprinted from the *Manual of Abstracts* of the paper read at the Twenty-eighth Annual Meeting of the American Sociological Society, December 27 to 30, 1933, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, pp. 24-25.

public, private, sectarian, nonsectarian, field and institutional for behavior proscribed as delinquent by New York City's Juvenile Court Code. Of these cases 7,090 were known to the court. Only 3,979 were held for care. When this figure is compared with the total delinquents known to other agencies, it is obvious that the court neither measures the extent of delinquent conduct in the cosmopolitan city like New York, nor the extent of serious offenses. Sex and age are also differential characteristics.

Delinquency in New York City is definitely set in terms of foreign-born or mixed-parentage families, but to very different degrees. In the Protestant group the distribution of native white, native parentage, and foreign-born or mixed parentage more nearly approaches the distribution of these two groups in the city as a whole. For the Catholics the per cent of native born is half what it is in the white Protestant and three times what it is in the Jewish.

This would seem to point to racial stock as a real differential. The reckoning of valid rates depends upon some basis of random sampling which will meet the requirements of a bell-shaped distribution not met by data arranged on the basis of residence alone.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Evolving Common School*, by HENRY C. MORRISON.  
Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, 62 pages.

The 1933 Inglis Lecture on Secondary Education gives a brief picture of the movement from continuous to discontinuous educational organization in American public schools and what the writer conceives to be a return to the continuous. Dr. Morrison also states again his functional conception of secondary education elaborated in his *The Practice of Teaching in the Secondary Schools*.

*The Auditorium Social Arts*, by HARRY GRAVES MILLER and NEWTON W. CHAFFEE. New York: D. C. Heath and Company, 1932, 413 pages.

A clear and direct discussion of auditorium activities in elementary schools and junior and senior high schools. Theoretical considerations are based on years of practical experience in constructing varied auditorium social arts. A descriptive review of auditorium practices in several progressive cities, a brief statement of the problems of teachers and the various school officials, and bibliographical teaching aids make this volume a contribution in an area in which as yet but meager professional guidance is available.

*Study Guide in Secondary Education*, by EDGAR M. DRAPER and ALEXANDER C. ROBERTS. New York: The Century Company, 1933, 151 pages.

This book, representing the unit idea of subject matter applied to the study of principles of secondary education, is planned to meet the needs of inexperienced undergraduate students in colleges and universities, of mature and experienced students, of extension classes, and of correspondence classes. Part I contains the thirteen basic units, each consisting of a "library research unit" and a "laboratory unit." Part II contains twenty-two units similarly divided but of a more advanced character.

*Talents and Temperaments*, by ANGUS McCRAE. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1933, 211 pages.

This is a popular presentation of the status of organized programs of guidance written by Angus McCrae, who is the head of the vocational guidance department of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. The author claims to have written no more than a short introduction to the subject. However, he has written it well. It is interesting to note that the problems in this field in the British Isles differ but slightly from the problems faced in this country, and the same unanswerable questions which we have had to face are raised across the water. One who is unacquainted with the field of guidance will find in this book an easily read discussion of the major aspects. The average parent who expects wonders from anything labeled guidance would learn from a reading of this book the essential limitations of even the best work, not only in this country but also in Europe.

*Rural Adult Education*, by BENSON Y. LANDIS and JOHN D. WILLARD. New York: The Macmillan Company, xiii+229 pages.

This book is a record of the results of research conducted over a period of four years by the American Association for Adult Education under a grant from the Carnegie Corporation of New York. Part I is devoted to a clear-cut analysis of rural America and the social and economic factors which have produced fundamental changes in rural group relations. Part II is an analysis of the purpose, nature, and extent of the various agencies for adult education. Specific results of several community studies in adult education, including the development of the cultural arts and folk schools, are included. Part III presents definite plans for the improvement of rural adult education through the development of leadership from within supplemented by greater financial resources by governmental and voluntary means, and more adequate county, State, and national planning.

*History of Norwegian Literature*, by THEODORE JORGENSON. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1933, 559 pages.

As the title and the number of pages would imply, this is a full and compendious chronicle of the literature of Norway. It gives an adequate account of the early centuries, of the runes, the Eddas, the sagas,

and the folk and religious literature; and it traces skillfully the effect of medieval humanism, the age of Holberg, and the growth of the nationalistic feeling. But the main emphasis of the book is upon the literature of the last hundred years, with special attention to recent and contemporary movements and authors.

*Research Barriers in the South*, by WILSON GEE. New York: The Century Company, 1932, 192 pages.

The title of this study is somewhat deceptive. Its scope is limited to a study of the opportunities for research afforded professors in forty-two southern universities and colleges as compared with those afforded professors in fifty-seven northern and western higher institutions of learning. The study suggests that the South is steadily losing its intellectual leadership to the North and West where superior advantages for individual accomplishment are to be found. Conclusions of the study show that the average southern professor earns one third less than his colleagues in other parts of the nation; that the accuracy of the prevailing impression to the effect that living is cheaper in the South is questionable; that the southern professor carries a teaching load approximately thirty per cent greater than his northern or western colleagues; and that this heavier teaching load has a detrimental influence upon the quality of teaching in southern educational institutions and limits research work of a scholarly and constructive nature. Corrective measures are suggested.

*The Individual and the Community*, by WEN KWEI LIAO. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933, 314 pages.

The author is professor of philosophy in the University of Nanking. The descriptive subtitle indicates the character of the work as "a historical analysis of the motivating factors of social conduct." Chinese, Sanskrit, and Pali texts are utilized, as well as those of Western culture. The theses of the book are: The individual is essentially a product of the community; by chance the individual may become a guide of the community; and that life is chance (cf. tychism).

*Young Lonigan*, by JAMES T. FARRELL. New York: Vanguard Press, 1932, xii+308 pages.

The reader lives with Young Lonigan for a few short months beginning with his graduation from St. Patrick's elementary school, through the idle summer on Chicago streets and the first few weeks in a public high school. He follows the hidden thoughts and overt acts of this typical, adolescent youth of the city through the many and bitter conflicts between home, church, and gang standards, and witnesses the gradual but consistent loss of his idealism and the conquest of the gang. The book is written with a frankness that may jar the sensitivities of some, but as Dr. Thrasher states in the foreword: "It is a true portrayal of life in the gangland area of Chicago or any other of our large cities."

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- Administration of Enrichment to Superior Children in the Typical Classroom*, by J. EDGAR DRANSFIELD. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
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- Americans at Play*, by JESSE FREDERICK STEINER. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- Annual and Semi-Annual Promotion*, by J. ARMOUR LINDSAY. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Birth Control in Practice*, by MARIE E. KOPP. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company.
- Comparison of the Intelligence of Deaf and Hearing Children*, by KEITH MACKANE. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- County as an Administrative Unit for Social Work*, by MARY RUTH COLBY. Bureau Publication No. 224. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.
- Education on the Air*, edited by JOSEPHINE H. MACLATCHY. Fourth Yearbook of the Institute for Education by Radio. Columbus: Ohio State University.
- Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society*, by GEORGE SIMPSON. New York: The Macmillan Company.
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- Heredity and Environment*, by GLADYS C. SCHWESINGER. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Income, Savings and Work of Boys and Girls on Farms in New York, 1930*, by HOWARD W. BEERS. Bulletin No. 560, May 1933. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.
- Insect and Other Injuries to Potato Tubers*, by G. F. MACLEOD and W. A. RAWLINS. Bulletin No. 569, June 1933. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.
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- Motion Pictures and the Social Attitudes of Children*, by RUTH C. PETERSON and L. L. THURSTONE. Payne Fund Studies on Motion Pictures and Youth. New York: The Macmillan Company.
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- Movies, Delinquency and Crime*, by HERBERT BLUMER and PHILIP M. HAUSER. Payne Fund Studies on Motion Pictures and Youth. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Negro Child Welfare in North Carolina*, A Rosenwald Study, directed by Wiley Britton Sanders. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press.
- New Backgrounds of Science*, by Sir James Jeans. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Nervous Breakdown*, by W. Béran Wolfe. New York: Farrar and Rinehart.
- On Teaching English*, by Howard Francis Seely. New York: American Book Company.
- Our Common Enemy: Colds*, by the editors of *Fortune* in consultation with eminent physicians. New York: Robert M. McBride & Company.
- Our Movie-Made Children*, by Henry James Forman. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Outline for Study of Children in Schools*, by EDNA W. BAILEY, ANITA D. LATON, and ELIZABETH L. BISHOP. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

# The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## EDITORIAL

Vocational education, that is, an education the controlling purpose of which is to train for socially desirable occupational efficiency, is accepted as an essential portion of the total educational program. Training is not yet given, under public auspices, for all types of vocations. The marked expansions on the secondary level of training for occupations in the fields of agriculture, homemaking, commerce, and industry, even though they represent a gratifying expansion of educational opportunities to increasing numbers of students, do not, however, include occupational-training opportunities for all of the occupations embraced within these four classifications. Furthermore, these classifications do not in themselves represent all of the worthwhile occupations which people can and will pursue. We run the grave danger of adopting a complacent attitude because of our present apparently extensive offerings and a further danger of overemphasizing, and hence ultimately overcrowding, a certain few popular or easily taught occupations.

Our programs of guidance are all too few and seldom completely adequate, and yet, even so, we present to our pupils a vista of occupational opportunity usually far more extensive than are the concomitant training opportunities; and in the guidance programs themselves are overemphasized a mere handful of traditional, or popular, or supposedly "high-class" occupations.

Our secondary schools are still largely organized as college preparatory institutions, and the goal towards which too many of our pupils strive is, consciously or otherwise, a professional occupation. Yet for many years we have heard the complaint that the professions are overcrowded. Whether they are or not, or whether a reorganization of professional endeavor and a spreading out horizontally and vertically of professional service could take care of many more professional and quasi-professional workers, the fact remains that few of our educational agencies, particularly those under public control, have realized the full import of this problem or have taken any steps towards a solution.

It may be true that in the future there will be more workers available in all occupational fields than the occupations themselves can absorb under present conditions. It would appear that there are at least three possibilities for the future: (1) that increasing numbers of our citizens will be unable to find employment and will need to be supported, in virtual idleness, under some form of governmental dole; (2) that a totally unlooked for expansion of occupational opportunities in many fields and a cessation of technological improvements will work the miracle of affording employment to all; or (3) that such occupational demands as now exist will be spread out in increasingly thinner layers to afford some employment, on a reduced basis, it is true, to all. The first possibility spells economic and social ruin. The second possibility smacks too much of the attitude of Micawber; we cannot afford to wait on the bare chance that some chance way out of our crisis will turn up. The third possibility seems to be the only one with any immediate prospect of putting people back to work and keeping them there.

If this third possibility be carried out, society must face the issues squarely. Among these may be mentioned the following: (1) With reduced hours of labor will come reduced compensation. (2) Reduced compensation will mean a lower standard of living, lowered by the widespread attempts on the part of public and private agencies to raise



commodity prices. (3) A lower standard of living will force a change in the basis of taxation, a lessened demand for many articles and services formerly considered necessary, an increasing reliance on public and private agencies to supply products and services formerly purchased out of the family income, an increased demand for education to lift the present and future generations out of the level of lower paid occupations into the level of higher paid occupations. These are but a few of the expected results of adherence to this third possibility. Many others could be mentioned, but it suffices to say that with few exceptions our public schools are making little attempt to anticipate changes of one sort or another in our social and economic structure and to provide the necessary modifications and adjustments and reorganizations which will be demanded of our schools in the future. Is it too much to hope that our great system of public education can take a place of leadership and for once be abreast of the procession, if not at the head of it, instead of lagging behind, as has been so often the case in the past, until an aroused citizenry demands of the schools those changes which school people should have anticipated and for which the schools should have made timely instead of belated provision?

It would seem an inescapable conclusion that prominent among these changes will be a tremendous expansion of vocational-education programs not merely in those fields which are now more or less traditional, but rather in those fields of occupational endeavor which have virtually been unexplored. Programs of adult education, whether for vocational proficiency or for leisure enjoyment, are even now undergoing a metamorphosis. Once the hysteria attendant upon budget curtailment subsides and a sane consideration of essential values takes its place, we shall see a significant development of a comprehensive program of vocational and occupational-arts education and a possible curtailment of several now outmoded educational offerings. Programs of guidance will increase in scope and value and their effectiveness will be enhanced, we hope, by a provision of edu-

cational opportunities comparable with the occupational opportunities studied. Curricula will be based upon actual occupational demands as determined by adequate analyses. In brief, vocational education will be not for the few but for all; it will cover the whole gamut of occupations instead of a handful; it will utilize all facilities, both public and private, with an increasing emphasis upon coöperative endeavor; it will teach skills, knowledges, attitudes, etc., definitely known to be needed rather than those representing more or less shrewd guesses; it will provide services to those who need them, want them, and can profit by them, regardless of age or social or economic level; it will, in fact, represent the greatest advance in our nation-wide effort to provide an educational system that will be truly democratic.

This volume represents an attempt to take stock of certain phases of vocational education. It is obvious, of course, that all phases cannot be covered in an issue of this size. Although the basis of selection may not have been the wisest, an attempt has been made to include the best known aspects, or the ones that have lost the most or held their own the best, or the ones that promise most for the future. It will be realized that within the limits allowed each contributor it will not be possible to cover more than the most significant items and, even so, charm of style will need to be sacrificed in the interests of conciseness.

Owing to the pressure of official duties, the article by Dr. Lewis A. Wilson, assistant commissioner of education, could not be prepared in time, and hence is omitted from this issue.

## FROM THE FEDERAL STANDPOINT

J. C. WRIGHT

Assistant Commissioner for Vocational Education, United States Office  
of Education

What may be called the *training* load for vocational programs always increases during a depression period, and rises to a maximum in the following period of recovery.

The reasons for this will be apparent on a survey of the progress of any business cycle. While the combination of effective causes is never the same from one cycle to another, they may all be characterized as tending in combination to develop unemployment of labor.

Unemployment of labor is an inevitable effect of the progressive unemployment of capital which characterizes all depressions. It is bound to accompany the collapse of overextended speculative credit in the initial stages of the business cycle; the development of widespread insolvency in the business world as a result of the accumulation of corporate and individual indebtedness; and the shifting of consumer demand away from certain industries which in consequence of this shifting tend to become overcapitalized and inactive. All such developments, singly and in combination, induce cumulative maladjustments of the supply of labor (as well as of capital) to demand, one after another and ultimately, if the progress of the depression is not stopped, in every field of employment.

Not only is unemployment an inevitable consequence of the maladjustments which bring on and characterize depressions, but it is an accurate index of the progress of the depression itself, and, in the later stages of the cycle, of recovery. It is, also, an accurate index of the current training load of vocational education.

Following any period of overstimulation, industry commonly suffers something in the nature of a heart attack, and must undergo over a protracted period an experience of slow convalescence. While society never knows, at the time, when it has hit the bottom—since there is always the possibility of sinking to still lower levels—a record low point can, nevertheless, be located in retrospect on the curve of the cycle, at which the forces making for recovery have overbalanced the forces making for depression.

If this were not the case, if industry were not always in unstable equilibrium, always getting either better or worse, if the depression period were simply one of partially suspended animation and of scraping along for a time on

some unvarying low level of activity, there could be little that vocational education could do during the period other than mark time and try to preserve the morale of unemployed workers and youths for whom no opportunities for employment were developing pending initiation of recovery.

But during the period of depression itself—even before the point of record low activity is reached, and at an accelerating pace after that point has been passed—very fundamental changes are always in process. If some industries are continuing to decline, others are always on the mend. New industries are emerging. Old industries are being reorganized and geographically redistributed. Old equipment is being scrapped and new equipment, processes, and techniques introduced. The condition of recovery in general is rigid economy and maximum efficiency of labor in all industries—maximum efficiency, be it noted, not in doing the world's work the way it used to be done, but in doing it in new ways and in doing new kinds of work.

New jobs are consequently becoming available throughout the periods of depression and recovery—fewer in the earlier stages, but, after the low point has been passed, in increasing numbers, over wider ranges of industry. The essential point is that these jobs becoming available in increasing numbers are *new jobs*, not the old ones for which the unemployed workers are qualified.

This means that unemployed labor is, during the combined periods of depression and recovery, getting more out of adjustment to the requirements of industry—more unfit for employment. It means that labor is not only increasingly unemployed, but *is becoming increasingly unemployable*—that its acquired training and experience are becoming increasingly misfit in proportion as industry is developing new techniques; that while opportunities for employment are increasing, this increase is being neutralized by the increasing disability of workers to qualify for the new jobs.

While vocational education cannot deal effectively with the economic origins of depressions, it can deal effectively

with, and it is its particular responsibility to deal effectively with, the cumulating unemployment, and thereby serve as one agency for promoting business convalescence and recovery.

In the period of rapid recession, which is commonly of short duration, the possibility of service of this character is at the minimum. Labor is then being let out of employment, and the processes of rehabilitation have not yet set in. As industry approaches its dead center, however, these processes are initiated, and the demand for training develops correspondingly, at first slowly and later at a rapidly accelerating pace in the period of recovery.

While the responsibility of vocational education is a joint responsibility resting upon all public agencies of vocational education—Federal, State, county, and municipal alike—the development of a widespread depression accentuates the responsibility of the National Government in at least two respects.

1. Every depression is national rather than local in its origins. Moreover, as regards different industries and localities as well as individual workers, the incidence of unemployment is accidental; some industries and some localities experiencing extreme and devastating consequences immediately and over a protracted period, while others may, for a time at least, escape such consequences. In this situation, as a matter of social equity, the responsibility which is always public must be thrown back in larger measure upon the national agency. The community or section of the country not affected has a responsibility at least equal to that of other communities and sections, and the National Government is the only agency which can equitably bring this public responsibility home to the country as a whole.

2. Our systems of local taxation are notoriously inequitable. In any period they place the burden of providing public funds principally upon real property, largely upon homes and farms. In a period of depression these local systems break down. It follows that in such a period larger recourse must accordingly be taken to more equitable and sustained sources of revenue. These, as it happens, are in our fiscal system largely preempted by the Federal Government, so that the need for Federal aid is bound to increase throughout the period of depression and well into the following period of recovery. It increases in proportion as (a) local revenues are being impaired, and (b) as the training load of vocational programs is cumulating.

It may be noted that, in the present depression period, the Federal Government has assumed large responsibilities

for promoting programs of vocational training adapted to the needs of unemployed workers, and that, at the present time, with its face turned towards recovery, it is assuming even larger responsibilities for service which, it is to be hoped, will hasten the progress of recovery itself, as well as alleviate the immediately urgent needs of our unemployed workers.

## FROM THE COUNTY STANDPOINT

ROBERT O. BEEBE

Director, Essex County Vocational Schools

It has been set forth as a cardinal principle of education by eminent authorities that "vocational education should equip the individual to secure a livelihood for himself and those dependent on him, to serve society well through his vocation, to maintain the right relationships towards his fellow workers and society, and, as far as possible, to find in that vocation his own best development."

If we are to accept these as our objectives of vocational education, then a really effective program must of necessity be of such a flexible character as to be adaptable to the demands that are created by an ever shifting industrial and economic social order. The adoption of new and improved methods of manufacture and construction, the discovery of new materials and processes, and the introduction of new appliances create a need for frequent modification in the exercise of vocational education. Fortunately, most of these technological changes come about more or less gradually and thus the necessary time is usually afforded in which to revise the courses to fit the altered requirements.

But this is not so with the sudden and unanticipated social and economic changes that universally upset our industrial stability, completely eliminate large fields of employment for skilled workers, and force people to make radical readjustments in their standards of living. In these emergencies, vocational education is challenged to its utmost. Equally radical changes in courses and methods may be necessary to provide the types of service adequate to meet the needs of the newly created conditions. Such

were the conditions suddenly brought about by the recent economic depression. Employment for both the skilled and the unskilled worker became increasingly difficult until within a remarkably short time there was an oversupply of trained and experienced workers for nearly every available job.

The problems of the vocational school were suddenly changed. Demands for organized apprentice training practically disappeared; better trained workers were demanded by the employers and thousands of persons were forced to seek employment in types of work entirely different from those in which they were experienced. Under these changed conditions the vocational school faced four major problems:

1. To continue the preemployment training of the junior group as preparation for employment in specialized trades
2. To give to a large group of juniors, who would ultimately be absorbed into a great variety of semiskilled occupations, a general vocational training
3. To provide the training facilities for adult workers that would enable them to increase their vocational knowledge and skill in their own chosen fields of employment
4. To provide short intensive training (retraining) courses for occupations in which during the depression employment was still possible

Let us consider each of these separately.

*Preemployment training for apprenticeship in organized skilled trades.* There has been a noticeable falling off in the enrollment in these courses, especially in the building-trades courses. During the World War it was almost impossible to induce boys to enroll in the building-trades courses because there was little demand for labor in the building trades at that time. But the reconstruction period that immediately followed the war was one of great building activity of such proportions that the major problem of the vocational school became that of training for the building trades.

Let us bear in mind that this group contains the skilled workers of the future. Boom times inevitably follow depressions. When these boom times come, many of the former skilled workers will have changed to other occupations, while others will be too old to return to their original

trades. The proper training of young men in the latest methods and devices of the skilled trades should not be omitted at this time.

*Preemployment training for the semiskilled occupations.* The scarcity of employment opportunities for juniors since 1930 has had a tendency to force many boys and girls to remain in school who would otherwise be employed. The advent of the NRA which has practically abolished the employment of children under sixteen years of age has increased the number in this group.

There is a tendency for these pupils to seek vocational training because their immediate objective is to enter employment as soon as possible. They are not as a rule interested in subjects that are too academic in character and neither do they aspire to enter organized trade courses. Most of these pupils will later be absorbed into semiskilled occupations of a very wide variety. As a prerequisite they need training in as many as possible of the basic skills used in a large number of occupations. This variety of experiences carried on under real shop conditions should not only provide them with a background adaptable to many types of jobs, but it should instill in the individual proper work habits and attitudes.

For the needs of this large group of students who will not enter the courses for the skilled occupations the Essex County Vocational Schools have organized general vocational (multi-occupational) courses. These courses (for both boys and girls) have provided a worth-while substitute for the reduction in the old standard courses both from the standpoint of selection of the new courses by the student and from the vocational-school administrative point of view. The introduction of the general vocational courses was accomplished without increasing the teaching staff. The reorganization of the school schedule incidental to reduced numbers in some of the departments allowed the assigning of instructors to the new courses, some on a full schedule and others on part time. At present instructors who formerly had a full-day schedule to teach carpentry,



or other trades in which the registration has declined, now devote half of their time to some phase of the general vocational course. Instructors formerly devoting full time to the continuation department are now on an all-day schedule in the new course.

*Adult vocational training as an aid to industrial efficiency.* The evening-school program reflects employment conditions. The majority of students attending are employed. Few students have applied for instruction in occupations in which employment is low. This is illustrated by the fact that for the past two or three years there have been no evening classes in tile setting, carpentry, bricklaying, and plastering. This year the registration for plumbing and electroplating was too small to open classes. There has been some reduction in the number of printing classes. On the other hand the demand for instruction in plan reading and estimating, automobile mechanics, welding, industrial electricity, sheet metal, and industrial chemistry is about normal. In the evening classes for women the demand in most subjects, including beauty culture, dental assistance, dressmaking, and power-machine operating, has been normal; but in the business-trades classes so many have applied that it was necessary to place several hundred on a waiting list.

*Retraining for new occupations.* Every effort has been made to develop this type of training during the depression period. Few occupations have been found, however, in which employment can be had after the necessary short training period. Such occupations as welding for pipe fitters and radio servicing for electricians might be cited as successful retraining occupations for men.

An outstanding example of successful retraining for women is to be found in the short unit courses in soda-fountain and luncheonette service. This is a unit course set up to do a specific piece of work in the shortest possible time, six weeks being the average length of the training period. The demand for this particular type of service increased during the depression and there was a shortage

of applicants who had the proper training that was required. In every instance the women taking the training were experienced in some other line of work before coming to the school. Their ages ranged from seventeen to twenty years.

Many unemployed stenographers have also been trained to be waitresses. These are only a few of the possibilities that have been discovered in the field of retraining.

#### AFTER THE DEPRESSION

To render effective service vocational education must be set up on a plan so flexible that it can be changed as completely and as rapidly as the conditions by which it is affected. We have made radical changes to meet the problems brought about by the depression. We shall be obliged to make equally radical changes, no doubt, to fit the conditions that will follow.

Just what the nature of these changes will be no one can be sure, but the tendencies in our social and industrial progress seem to point strongly to some conclusions. There will be an increased demand from both the learner and employer for vocational training covering a wider field in both the day and the evening schools. A closer coördination between the so-called cultural courses in the secondary school and the vocational courses will be effected. The building trades will come back but with changes which were in evidence even before the depression. There will be less hand skill but more mechanization in methods, more fabrication and erection but less piecemeal construction on the job. It is safe to assume, however, that it will be a number of years before the newer methods will be fully developed and there will be a need for training in most of the hand skills for some years to come.

Eventually general vocational courses will be organized to cover a great variety of processes in the field of skilled and semiskilled occupations. Among these will be metal industries, fabric and leather industries, electrical manufacturing, service and maintenance, etc. Through this general training in a diversified field of vocational opportuni-

ties students will develop versatility that will enable them to qualify for any number of jobs. There seems little reason to doubt that as general vocational educational courses succeed in the day school, there will be a demand for the same type of training, on an extension basis, in the evening school. All the conditions today indicate clearly that the demand for vocational education following the depression will increase and that it will assume a more prominent part in our nation-wide program of public education.

## FROM THE CITY STANDPOINT

HAROLD G. CAMPBELL

Superintendent of Schools, New York City

During the past few years attention has been focused on the importance of vocational education because of the tremendous appeal which industry has had for thousands of our pupils of secondary-school grade. Although vocational education was gradually evolving under the old social order prior to the depression, its true nature and value were more fully grasped when a gigantic crisis showed us the limitations of our program.

In the present period of reconstruction and in the new social order with its aim towards industrial and economic planning, with its prohibition of child labor in the true sense of the word, and its definite provision for shorter hours of work and more time for leisure, we are faced with many challenging problems.

In the first place, the New Deal has practically raised the school age limit from seventeen to twenty years and has assigned to public education almost complete responsibility for the welfare of youth until such time as he may find his place in business or industry as organized under the new order. Public education cheerfully accepts this responsibility and is even now at work upon the formulation of a definite educational program.

In New York City a program committee has been appointed by the Advisory Board on Industrial Education for

the purpose of gathering information with a view towards making specific recommendations for the guidance of the school authorities. Educators, health officials, and representatives of labor and welfare organizations are members of this committee, so that we are assured in advance of a comprehensive and authoritative report.

Thus far a study of the problem has led to the following conclusions:

1. We may expect further large increases in secondary-school registration.
2. The emphasis in whatever training program we may finally devise for those who will return to school must be based upon character development, coöperative citizenship, and the necessity for acquiring the habit of work.
3. Until such time as we may foresee where opportunities for employment will open with the revival of business and industry, our vocational-training program must be general and must stress the principles that are basic and fundamental in whatever field of endeavor the student may ultimately enter.
4. A program for apprentice training must be worked out in coöperation with industry, but, for the time being at least, with the heaviest part of the burden falling upon the schools.
5. The NRA codes should be revised so as to make more adequate provision for the apprentice-training program.
6. We must establish an even closer alliance with business and industry in order to determine where employment opportunities will exist in the future.

So important is this problem of vocational education that we have appointed a Vocational Survey Commission so that we may still further broaden our view and increase our knowledge of this work. This commission is made up of representatives of labor, of the employers, and of the schools. Its objectives may be stated as follows:

1. To find what opportunities for employment normally exist in the City of New York
2. To place the information derived through this coöperative enterprise conducted by the schools, labor, and the employers at the service of the schools
3. To collate this material, check and amplify it, and, whenever necessary, make new surveys
4. To canvass carefully the present facilities for vocational education in New York City
5. To gather all available material regarding vocational education elsewhere

6. To make this a continuing service which will periodically inform the Board of Education of any necessary changes in the various types of vocational education and to suggest new curricula and new equipment that will meet these needs

Whatever this program may encompass, the community must realize that it is going to cost money. We cannot, in effect, increase our school age limit from seventeen to nineteen or twenty and assume the major portion of the apprentice-training work formerly carried on by business and industry without additional expenditures.

It is, of course, unnecessary to say that our training program must include health education, recreation, and guidance in the matter of the intelligent and beneficial use of leisure time.

An equally important consideration is that of providing our youth with true appreciation of the verities of life. Our failure in the past to place sufficient emphasis upon real values has been at least in part responsible for the plight in which the world now finds itself. We experienced one of the worst depressions in history, largely because you and I were never properly trained to understand the economic and social forces which control civilization. Youth in the New Deal must receive adequate training in civics and in economics so that they may understand the force of controlling the new era better than you and I understood the forces in the old.

Strangely enough the subjects that are being referred to in some quarters as "fads and frills" are the very subjects that have been added to our curriculum for the purpose of enriching the lives of our children and enabling them to find delight and contentment in an understanding and appreciation of the things that are of intrinsic worth. I have heard appreciation of art and music classified as fads and frills. If these are nonessentials, then every great student of educational values from Plato's time until the present has been wrong.

The success of the educative process is measured not by the amount of information a student acquires but by the change that is wrought in him. We are less interested

in what our students learn than in what they become. We seek not to load their minds with facts, but to enrich their lives intellectually and spiritually. Merely adding to their store of factual knowledge may tend to make their minds encyclopedic, but an encyclopedia is both deadly dull and useless as a guide to successful living. We wish rather to make our youth an admirable companion, thoughtful, sympathetic, and understanding.

Our aim is the aim of all education—to engender a love of beauty, to cultivate the habit of thoughtful consideration before making a decision, to enrich life by acquainting youth with the noblest expressions of man, both in thought and deed, throughout the ages; to afford him an opportunity to create, to assist in developing his talent, whatever it may be, and to teach him to work with thoroughness and delight.

## SOME SOCIOLOGICAL FOUNDATIONS

DAVID SNEDDEN

*Professor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*

Along with city, sanitary, political, and economic planning the scientific temper of our time surely requires much comprehensive educational planning.

For generations the policymakers for all kinds of school educations have relied largely upon old customs, effects of opportunistic trial-and-error processes, traditions, and faiths for guidance. Until recently, of course, these policymakers were usually statesmen, publicists, ministers, or other influential laymen rather than professional educators. But even the professional leaders in education, of whom America has produced large numbers in the latest five decades, have nearly all been traditionalists, where they have not been romanticists and mystics, so far as educational values and educational functionings had to have close consideration.

The times are now ripe for realistic and scientific attacks upon a considerable range of problems of educational values in order to procure solid foundations for such educational

planning as will produce optimum combinations of economy and efficiency. One cornerstone for such foundations is obviously to be carved out of Herbert Spencer's century-old query, "What knowledge is of *most* worth?"

Worth for whom? Worth for what purposes? Worth in optimum measure at what time?

The social sciences clearly indicate that the answers to such queries must be derived from realistic analyses of the present and forecasted functionings of men and women in the social environments and under the conditions now constituting what we call civilization.

It is evident that those men and women who now exhibit lives of high usefulness and pleasurable satisfactions to themselves and their fellows embody, and functionally express, their superior powers along all, or nearly all, of the following channels or careers:

1. They pursue a specialized vocation with sufficient competence to assure them optimum command of economic goods.
2. They so rear a family of children as to assure them good starts for adult life.
3. They safeguard the physical and mental health of themselves and their dependents.
4. They give reasonable amounts of time, energy, and competent knowledge to discharge of their civic obligations.
5. Similarly, they devote some intelligent coöperations to the discharge of their religious obligations.
6. They steadily, purposefully, and intelligently expand, deepen, and refine their personal cultures, especially along the two channels of *euthenic* culture (high standard of material utilization, sumptuary economic) and *spiritual* culture (high standard of nonmaterial utilization—literature, music, science, history, philosophy).
7. In a variety of areas of pleasure, recreation, and pastime seeking, not functionally related to any of the above channels, they also bring into action superior standards of utilization as early and as persistently as goodwill and science-supported intelligence make practicable.

The above can best be interpreted as a provisional classification of the several parallel "careers" pursued by the men and women whom we most approve, especially if such persons are living full-balanced, not abnormally narrowed, lives.

Of course, some persons in their eagerness to achieve success or indulgence in one or a few of those careers under-

develop or neglect others; some forgo family rearing, others responsible civic participation. Still others omit religious coöperation. Some few pursue religious or pleasure-seeking careers to the ruin of their vocational careers. Many sacrifice their health or cultural careers in their devotions to other luring careers. In some cases, indeed, such specializations are justified by their fruits, if not to the person himself, at least to his societies.

Nevertheless, the policymakers of school and college educations for the multitudes must plan primarily for balanced productions, in the large majority of persons, of superior qualities for all, and not only a few, of the above careers. This article is designed to discuss only the planned educations which would produce widely distributed competencies for vocational careers as these may be expected to appear during 1925-1985. The writer's present conclusions on this topic, based on more than twenty years' close study of human powers as related to evolving economic conditions, can best be summarized as a series of postulates and hypotheses:

1. All the conditions of modern production (including, of course, the basically important processes of transportation and exchange as parts of such productive processes as well as all professional and other services) tend towards increased specialization of vocations, and especially for all persons whose labors are to give them products so valuable in quantity or/and quality as exchanged in the markets to assure the producers "good" rather than only mediocre standards of living.

2. Contrary to much popular but superficial opinion, nearly all the progressive evolutions of modern economic production abundantly reward, even where they cannot yet successfully demand, higher rather than lower standards of vocational competency in proportion as vocations become specialized—whether in fruit growing or hotel cooking, in cloth manufacture or coal mining, in teaching, or purveying of amusements. (Let the doubter here go into the world of work and critically study any ten randomly selected vocations now yielding their workers fairly good incomes—and the more specialized, the better.)

3. Nonschool agencies of vocational education, and especially all forms of apprenticeship, have been steadily degenerating for two centuries, never having been more than partially effective in America.

4. Hence all hopes for higher vocational competencies in the future, competencies which are to be procured without excessive waste and trials, must be centered in vocational schools, each designed to produce optimum competency in one specialized vocation.

5. A variety of now evolving conditions, some growing out of the



economic conditions of production, some out of our rising standards for nonvocational educations, and some out of our higher standards of small family life, tend to render it entirely inexpedient and undesirable that systematic vocational education for any one should begin under eighteen years of age or, for perhaps fifty per cent of all young persons, under twenty years of age.

6. Furthermore, such conditions also render it inevitable that vocational schools, to be really efficient, be not only specialized according to specific vocations (as vocational schools for the higher vocations, the professions, are now) but that only one or a few of each kind be provided in each State. For example, one school of barbering, two of baking, and ten of automobile repairing would probably suffice for all New York State. In many cases, indeed, one or few schools, e.g., watch repairing, school superintending, orange growing, cod fishing, actor teaching, would suffice for the entire country, as now is the case with vocational schools for army and navy leadership.

7. Of course, all efficient vocational schools must procure competencies in their pupils largely through directed participations in commercial productive work. Under some, perhaps rare, conditions only, will the schools be able profitably to operate such works themselves, as do now some in barbering, automobile repairing, and teacher training. In most cases, they will have to enter into coöperating relationships, sometimes paying for the privilege, and sometimes being able to charge for learners' services, with growing commercial concerns, the learners always remaining in effect apprenticed to their schools—as is now often done by medical, nurse-training, teacher-training, and some engineering vocational schools.

8. In proportion, as America becomes economically and otherwise more socially efficient, as present governmental policies become more definitely operative, there are many grounds for expecting that entry to most, if not to all, specialized vocations be in effect, licensed, as now in dentistry, civil-service positions, truckdriving, and urban electric wiring. Under such licensing conditions minimum requirements to be set by vocational schools could presently become standardized.

9. Finally, because realistic appreciations of educational values and functionings are still so meagerly developed among busy educators, it must repeatedly be insisted that (a) Industrial-arts courses for boys from twelve to sixteen years of age, however valuable for purposes of euthenic cultural, experience-developing, and even strictly avocational or "leisure-time amateur-pursuit" values, can contribute no learnings of importance for any but a rare one half of one per cent of present-day vocations. (b) Household arts or home-economics courses for girls under eighteen years of age, valuably cultural as they can be made, probably now contribute, or can be made to contribute, only chance and meager learnings which will eventually function as home-making and motherhood competencies. (c) Technical high-school courses, in spite of superficial appearances and the rationalizings of partisans, as well as all commercial courses except those clearly integrated for typewriting and stenographic skills, rarely function as bona-fide preparations for vocational competencies.

## ADULT EDUCATION

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### CHANGING CONCEPTIONS

In the past, because of the mistaken conception of education as the preparation for life, adult education was given to children and adolescents. Today, the progressive educator attempts to meet the interests of the child at each particular stage of his development; the future will do so to a greater degree.

The most acceptable view of adult education, whether formal or informal, seems to be that which interests persons whose major occupation is not going to full-time school. For instance, undergraduates or even postgraduate students taking certain courses would not be considered as included within the scope of adult education, although employed persons who took the identical courses in the extension division would be so classified.

### BASIC CHANGES

In the past, psychologists were doubtful whether older persons could learn really new things. However, Thorndike's study on adult learning reveals that, where an interest in the subject has been aroused, the older adult learns almost as well as the young person.

The lengthening of the span of life has made it more necessary in the future than in the past to make adequate provision for adult learning. Commissioner Zook, in a recent address, stated that the actual amount of time devoted to schooling was pitifully small in comparison with the length of life. He stated that this schooling amounted, in the case of the average person having perfect school attendance for ten years, to one half the number of days in these years for five hours a day. For a person fifty years old, about two per cent of his lifetime is given to formal education.

For centuries the ordinary individual had to work laboriously from early morning to night to earn a living with little time left for leisure. At present, and more so in the future, the individual will have more free time than he knows what to do with unless definite provisions are made for the use of leisure.

The educative process continues and, if no provision is made by disinterested agencies, the individual will be exploited by agencies which are concerned in commercializing adult education.

#### CHANGES IN TYPES OF FORMAL ADULT EDUCATION

In the past, the mechanics institutes, the Chautauquas, the lyceums, as well as the evening schools supplied the needs of the more intelligent portion of the community. At present, the free library, the school, the public museum, and the lecture platform are each active in its field, but even more insistent is the propaganda for the various cults, self-seekers, and the advertisers through the motion pictures, the radio, and the newspaper.

What is necessary for the future is the further development by nonpropagandizing institutions of types of adult education both formal and informal which will meet the interests of citizens in the actualization of their potentialities in a progressive democracy.

Whether these interests include subjects in the fields of vocations, art, literature, science, languages, or the functions of parenthood, an opportunity should be offered for integrated programs. Adult education is as broad as the needs of the socialized individual. The removal of illiteracy is just as important, if not more so, as the teaching of classics or the appreciation of music.

#### CHANGES IN TYPES OF INFORMAL ADULT EDUCATION

However, many individuals are not attracted by any type of formal education and prefer to meet their educational needs by self-study groups in their own homes and by visits to museums and libraries. Provision should be made to assist such groups in choosing subjects of study,

selecting books, and providing leaders. In many ways this independent study group is the most valuable form of adult education and it should be the aim of formal institutions to transfer their students to informal groups. Nothing will make a commonwealth of educated citizens more surely than the transfer of the center of learning to each fireside.

#### AN EXAMPLE OF A COÖPERATIVE PROGRAM

The Board of Education of New York City, at first single-handed and then in coöperation with the State Department of Education and the State Temporary Emergency Relief Association, conducted classes for adults not only in vocational work but also along the lines of hobbies and cultural interests. These classes were conducted primarily to give employment for unemployed teachers but, in addition, contributed largely towards either improving the vocational skills or maintaining the morale of the students.

These classes had their origin in the policy of the continuation schools of making provision for the unemployed because of slack seasons in many types of work, especially the needle trades. Such workers were given training in occupations which were busy when their main occupations were slow. We also conducted for many years classes for the so-called unemployables, who, because of some defect in physical, mental, or emotional make-up, were unable to keep in continuous employment. Many of these required intensive training in one operation to make them employable. However, owing to the widespread unemployment, the Board of Education opened the facilities of all continuation schools wherever such room was available to adults regardless of age and previous educational trade training. The only considerations were the need, the aptitude, and the ambition of the applicant. The services of twenty-five teachers were specifically set aside for this service by the Board of Education in 1931 and later confirmed by the Board of Estimate with the understanding that any slack that could be found in the continuation school not

needed for the regular continuation-school group or for the industrial high-school group might be used for the instruction of these older persons. As a matter of fact, the interest and sympathy of the continuation-school teachers was so aroused by the plight of these unfortunate unemployed that they voluntarily rendered overtime service. Instead of the work being limited to the few hundred provided for in the budget, over 5,000 were instructed daily. These students, in addition to instruction, received full benefit of vocational counseling and guidance, health coördination, and placement service. In many instances, the teacher assisted these unemployed adults with money, food, carfare, and clothing. At every step, the coöperation of existing agencies was obtained to secure help for the unemployed who needed immediate assistance. Such organizations as the Emanuel Federated Sisterhood and the Greenwich House provided "tide-over wages" for many of these trainees. In addition to this training program, a comprehensive plan for canvassing for positions, placement of students, and the search for new types of work was carried on. During the two and one half years in which the Board of Education conducted the work, 50,000 adults derived benefits by receiving vocational counseling and training in some trade and placement.

This work was continued during the year 1932. However, when the budget for 1933 was prepared, the financial condition of New York City was such that all provision for unemployed adults was eliminated. The associate superintendent and the director were determined that the unemployed should not be deprived of the only opportunity offered in New York City for a real constructive program of educational service. It was deemed advisable to appeal to the State Temporary Emergency Relief Administration to supply sufficient funds to have classes continued under the auspices of the State Department of Education. The attempt was entirely successful. Inasmuch as the State Temporary Relief Funds could be used only for unemployed persons, the State Department of Education obtained

through the Home Relief Bureau of New York City and the Emergency Work Bureau of the Gibson Committee the names of destitute professional and business people, including unemployed teachers. Instruction included not only the usual elementary and high-school subjects but commercial work, technical courses, and art work. The average attendance in these classes was about 12,000 daily; the largest of all being in the Central Commercial School which offered work in commercial subjects and also maintained an extensive art department.

A striking example of the spirit of optimism and fortitude is to be found in the centers for the retraining of unemployed adults. Many men and women, some of them out of employment for two and three years, have returned to school to prepare themselves for reemployment. Many of these will never again be employed in the occupation for which they were trained and in which they earned a living for many years. The march of progress has made obsolete many such occupations. Others are striving to keep alive their skill when opportunities for employment present themselves. Still others are discovering new types of work which they would rather follow than those at which they had formerly earned a living. The organization of the City and State adult classes has given them the opportunity to discover and develop dormant vocational interests.

It is recommended that, in connection with the administration of the NRA for dealing with the problem of unemployment, an account be taken of the industrial rehabilitation of our economic casualties. Provision should be made to bring back into industry, without loss of morale, the battalions of industry that, because of lack of initiative or lack of opportunity, are lost in the economic wilderness. Without a plan for retraining, large numbers might join the ranks of the permanently unemployed and become not only vocational misfits but also a prey to antisocial forces which may organize them for destructive purposes.

The service for the unemployed should follow the methods used in the rehabilitation of disabled veterans. Our

experience has shown that technical work can be done in school and in such agencies as the Adjustment Service. If the unemployed person knows exactly what training he wants, the problem is confirmed by a vocational counselor of the agency or the school and it becomes a simple matter to assign such person to a class. However, it has been found that thousands unemployed have not chosen their occupations on the basis of their aptitudes or the needs of industry. The counseling services of the schools have become veritable clinics for the maladjusted, and the training class has become the hospital to which applicants apply for occupational rehabilitation.

Such rehabilitation, of course, cannot be left to industry which will select the cream of applicants and leave as public charges those who are vocationally maladjusted even when such persons can be made into good workers by an adequate program of retraining.

In the absence of special agencies to guard the welfare of such unemployed folk, the State and city departments of education as well as municipal and National employment bureaus should confer regarding this problem. Wherever possible, represented organized labor should be consulted although the greatest evils will occur in those industries which are not so organized.

Commissioner Zook recently outlined a national six-point program which practically covers the essentials of adult education during the economic emergency.

#### ADULT EDUCATION OF THE FUTURE

With increased leisure, not due to enforced idleness, with interests aroused in the worth-while things of life, with the need of each individual provided for by formal institutions and informal groups, there will be a renaissance in popular phases of art, literature, and science. The cultivated taste of the public will demand the best in books, plays, pictures, and music. There will be renewed interest in those hobbies which are creative as they recreate. Moreover, there will be a keener interest in and a greater understanding of the problems of government, both local, na-

tional, and foreign. In a democracy, where it is essential that the citizens understand the problems which affect life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, we dare not leave for any long period such matters in the hands of a few leaders alone. Adult education for the individual should mean the life more abundant, and for society, the creation of an environment fit for the development of adults.

## PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

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To survey the present status of professional education in the metropolitan area and to attempt to detect trends for the future would involve months of study and volumes of reports. However, a few significant changes may be mentioned together with some remarks that are pertinent to the subject.

Medical education has never succumbed to mass production methods. The very nature of the intensive individual clinical training precludes this. The need for medical service increases rather than decreases during a depression period, when so large a part of the population is existing on no wage or a fraction of a living wage. During the past twenty-five years the standards in the medical colleges have been raised. Although the minimum premedical course is now two and one half years, a number of schools require the candidate to present an academic degree as an entrance requirement. In this same period, the number of medical schools in the country has been greatly reduced, and there has been a concentration of schools in the famous medical centers of the large cities. The enrollments in the various local institutions have shown an increase since 1930. The numbers applying for entrance to these institutions have mounted and one medical college reports that it can take but about one from every seven that apply. The increase in enrollment is explained by the fact that endowments have not yielded their scheduled rates of interest and the administrations have been forced, in



some cases, to rely on student fees. The deans of the local medical colleges are at present discussing the question of overcrowding in the profession. The point at which selection is to take place is foremost: either at entrance or at the point of certification and licensing. As a future trend, one outside the profession looks for socialization of the profession in much the same fashion as the public schools have socialized education. Perhaps this will be the solution of medical service in a machine age.

The schools of dentistry report that enrollments reached the low mark in 1927-1928, and that since that date there has been a slight increase. The percentage of students remaining to complete the required course has greatly increased in recent years.

The effects of the depression on the schools of nursing can be epitomized in a few short sentences. The number of applicants for nurse training has greatly increased during the past two years, although in many cases the schools of nursing have neither increased nor decreased the number of students. To relieve the general situation as far as employment is concerned one school reports that it has taken on ten additional graduates for general duty and has also organized the eight-hour system for graduates doing special nursing in the hospital, thus giving work to a greater number of graduates. In most schools of nursing the standards have been raised considerably, and graduation from a four-year academic course is the prevailing requirement.

Schools of pharmacy have registered a decrease in the number of students enrolled in the past three years. A number of these schools reached maximum enrollments in the years 1927-1930. In the metropolitan area the number of pharmacies in the past few years has increased to the point where it is difficult for many of them to operate at a profit. With the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, it is reasonable to expect that a large proportion of those who some years back might have enrolled in schools of pharmacy today will enter other lines of activities. The figures from one of these schools reveal the present trend.

1928-1929.....	454	1931-1932.....	358
1929-1930.....	576	1932-1933.....	236
1930-1931.....	511	1933-1934.....	177

Schools of commerce and business were obviously among the first to reflect the economic and financial debacle. In this case, the figures graphically tell the story of decreased enrollments. One institution reports enrollments as follows:

1925-1926.....	6,809	1929-1930.....	7,833
1926-1927.....	7,121	1930-1931.....	8,653
1927-1928.....	7,062	1931-1932.....	7,060
1928-1929.....	7,445	1932-1933.....	5,720

In local schools of this type there were numbers of students who held positions in the business world at the same time they were studying. With the loss of the position, or with the reduction in salary, continued education had to be eliminated.

Representative law schools in the metropolitan area reached maximum enrollments in the year 1927-1928. Enrollments then steadily dropped until 1931-1932 when a slight rise was noted. In this profession, requirements have been made more severe and the system of selection has been perfected in the attempt to prevent the overcrowding of the profession.

The teaching profession has suffered keenly the effects of the depression. Throughout the country there has been a reduction in staff and in salaries in the schools and colleges. In some places, the schools have been closed or their terms have been cut to but several weeks in the year. The number of teachers that are unemployed has reached a tremendous figure. New York City, in the past year, has seen fit to close its teacher-training institutions. For the past few decades the teaching profession has witnessed the raising of the standards for admission and certification of candidates. Certification and tenure have often been made to rest on continued study in approved courses. The consensus of opinion of the leaders in the field of education is that a change has taken place in the type of student with which the teachers college must deal. There are more

graduate students seeking to meet the more rigid standards for certification. The increase in the percentage of graduate students in the local institutions is apparent. However, total enrollments in these institutions show a great diminution, especially after 1930.

The profession of engineering has suffered also the effects of the depression. The country is so overwhelmingly industrial that when the wheels of industry stopped turning the engineer found himself among the unemployed. The condition was aggravated by the fact that overproduction existed at the very beginning of the depression period. Although there is some increase in the enrollment in the fields where engineers are normally employed, there is a decided lag in the enrollment in the local technical schools. In some few cases, students that had been enrolled in the evening divisions of the engineering colleges have, at the loss of their positions, transferred to the day classes. The future trend in this profession, as expressed by one of the deans, is not beside the point. "The technician in engineering will be in evidence in the future, but he will not be the man sought after for the worth-while positions. Therefore, engineering education must provide the youth of the present generation with that type of training that will create a foundation on which they may specialize when the point is reached in a professional career that will assure an intelligent decision on what is the one best choice." More of the humanities and more postgraduate study are other features expected in the engineering curricula of the future.

Theology is one of the most ancient among the professions. One institution of theological training in the metropolitan area reports a tremendous increase in the numbers seeking admission. This institution has, however, maintained its normal enrollment by exercising a more discriminating selection. Only college graduates are taken and these must now display an enviable college record. The admission to a number of similar institutions has been restricted because of the great difficulty of students' finding adequate employment in the city to cover the cost of living. Fellow-

ships formerly given to first-year students have been diverted to those in the second and third years in order that these persons may complete the courses upon which they have spent so much time. Although the feeling persists that the ministry is overcrowded, a prominent seminary reports that their most recent graduates were fortunate in securing permanent positions, most of which were pastorates.

The established schools of music in the metropolitan area are swamped with applicants each year. The graduate divisions of these institutions have maintained their enrollments throughout the depression. The undergraduate divisions, which for a time showed decreased enrollments, are now reporting normal increases. The policies of selection of these schools are ever changing in the direction of stricter scrutiny of the prospective students. One school reports that it will not take or keep any one who apparently will be unable to make his living after the training period as a capable professional musician. Of course, there is ample provision for those who do not intend to follow music as a lifework. There has been a tremendous interest displayed in music in America in the past ten years. The rural communities as well as the cities are developing small orchestras in which the members of the community can find an outlet for their talents. The radio has made music a household thing. Nowhere has a greater development and extension of music taken place than in the American school. Here apparently is the one field open to teachers today. There is and will continue to be a demand for teachers and supervisors of music for the schools. Many of the conservatories that formerly did not provide the required training have established courses in music education.

Art schools in the metropolitan area have recently been able to record small but consistent enrollments after the decline due to the depression. The students in these schools have felt the press of economic forces and the curricula have been broadened to include commercial art. Classes in advertising art, advertising illustration, magazine illustration, woodcutting, book decoration, and layout and typo-

graphical design have been established largely because of the demand on the part of the students for a more practical type of training.

The slashing of the budgets in municipalities and in educational institutions has often adversely affected the libraries. However, the growth of the library movement over the whole country has created the demand for trained librarians. These people find positions in city or town libraries, in educational institutions, and in industrial, technical, and professional libraries. One local library-training institution reports its enrollment to have more than doubled over the past seven years.

In a period in which it is so difficult to procure a position, the college and professional-school graduate finds himself in a quandary at the conclusion of his regular course of study. As a result, he more often remains within the academic walls for a few years of graduate study. The enrollment in the various graduate schools of the local area reflects this situation by noticeable increases. Two institutions give figures which reflect much the same story:

1928-1929	1929-1930	1930-1931	1931-1932	1932-1933
537	610	660	756	724
705	775	799	883	853

There are no well-defined trends apparent in the field of professional education at the present—the early months of 1934. Enrollments in some fields have remained about the same in those professional spheres which are remotely in tune with the economic chaos which continues to grip the country. In those types of professional schools that are closely hinged to the economic structure, engineering, education, and commerce, enrollments are still below normal expectations. Some few professions, especially those connected with the sphere of leisure-time activities, report a growth in the student bodies. Music, art, and the stage seem to be on the threshold of a new era. This, of course, is reasonable to expect in a world in which the work hours have been cut to a minimum. It is futile to attempt to predict in these days of such great uncertainty just what

changes will take place in professional education. Suffice to say that in the great metropolitan area the professional-school administrations are aware of very pressing problems dealing with the selection and retention of students. The question of overcrowding in the professional fields engages the attention of these school administrations and, almost universally, it has been found that standards have been raised in the several fields. The mere fact that the professional schools are aware of the social implications of their individual problems bids fair to create an atmosphere that will promote solutions of merit and value to these vital problems.

## INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION

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Industrial education advanced steadily prior to the depression. This advance was noted in increased appropriations, increased facilities, and increased student and teaching personnel.

While these outward evidences of growth in industrial education existed, there was not an equal evidence in the growth of clarified aims and objectives. Frequently, the uninformed will of a director, a superintendent, an employer, or other groups determined the aim of such education.

The aim should be determined by the factors making such education advisable and necessary; viz., the capacities of pupils and the exigencies of a civilization which is predominantly industrial. This industrial civilization is no longer simple and primitive, but highly complex, the embodiment of applied science. Industry has varying levels, each level requiring certain abilities. Knowledge of this fact will modify the aims of industrial education for each level. The aim should be not merely to master the tools and machines of a particular level of industry. The underlying principles of science have been and are to a great extent neglected. We succumbed to the fallacy of the

machine, forgetting that man is more than the machine, and physical and social forces more permanent than the machine itself which operates by virtue of these forces.

The teachers were and are limited in outlook, intelligence, and imagination. They have been satisfied with the mastery of the machine, but unable to understand the physical forces that operate it and the social forces that ultimately control it. We need better teachers, teachers who have a clear apprehension of the principles involved in the process and of the ethical principles that control social organization. The pupil product of this latter teaching has a sense of dignity and power and the feeling of being a partner for good with the forces and powers he operates and directs. He is not a mere factory robot. He has not only specific skills but a mastery of principles, industrial insight, enlightened judgment, fluid initiative, and can rapidly adjust himself to any one of a variety of jobs when the one he happens to hold is outmoded or superseded by technological advance in production processes.

Our new industrial education must develop intelligence, health, and spiritual ideals as well as technical skill. The failure of our industrial society in America is due to spiritual not material causes. Woodrow Wilson put the matter succinctly: "Our civilization cannot survive materially unless it be redeemed spiritually."

We have put too much faith in machines alone. They are not to blame for our collapse. They have, as Steinmetz held, relieved us of monotonous jobs. But we as teachers have treated education, including industrial education, merely as a means to make money. We have told our pupils that there are only two great immortal powers in the universe; viz., the power of heat and the power of electricity, and we have regarded these as the generating forces of all our growth in greatness and prosperity. It is true that the powers of heat and electricity are the immortal servants of the physical side of all industrial civilization, giving character to its physical structure. But it is the power of love, social justice, and ethical organization which brings forth the evolution of the spiritual uni-

verse. Our failure to train our pupils in an understanding of these last mentioned forces is and will continue to be a standing reproach to our industrial education.

The prospect of education under the New Deal is high, inspiring, and gratifying. This new education will insist that the primary aims of all education will be ethical growth, sound health, and intellectual and technical equipment for life's work, in the order named. The new education will revive the principles of the Declaration that every man has a right to life and the means for sustaining it, the right to liberty with opportunity to enjoy it, and the right to pursue happiness with some degree of hope of attaining it. These fundamental principles are the basis of our society. We have loved them long since, even though we have lost them for awhile.

This industrial world in which we live has been occupying of late the attention of thoughtful men in our own and every land. Not only its present make-up and its effects—social, political, economic, and moral—but also its future.

Some are filled with direful forebodings, like Oswald Spengler, who, in two stout volumes of brilliant analysis and monumental learning, sees the doom of modern industrial civilization. Others, like Lombroso and Chase, recommend a turning away from the machine to forces more easily controlled. These cynical and pessimistic forebodings are due to defective analysis of the underlying causes of our collapse. America has more faith in the integrity of her rulers. Technical advancement is not intrinsically an evil, but a good which needs proper development and control. We look upon applied science as providential, believing that the trend of history would be unimaginable otherwise. It is our failure to keep abreast spiritually and ethically with technical advancement that is the cause of our present debacle. As educators we must take the obvious moral to heart and do our share in preventing a recrudescence of the theory that industrial education is justified alone by its monetary outcome.

All the signs point to fundamental changes in education. What final form these changes will assume, it is at present



difficult to foresee, but it is already evident that we must imbue society with the idea that education is not only good for making money, but it is our best means to make men and women better citizens, alive to ethical and social standards, and aware of the needs of others. The new education must make all feel a responsibility for others, and this responsibility must be discharged *even though it means* that all must be content with less than they had formerly hoped to possess.

## HOMEMAKING EDUCATION

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Inventory day for homemaking education has arrived. Before proceeding with plans for the future, it might be wise to survey the situation in homemaking education to note its trends and what they portend for future progress.

Homemaking work in our public schools has made valuable contributions to the relief programs which have been prominent in the last few years. Classes have made up *thousands of yards of Red Cross material into garments* for the needy; thousands of garments have been cleaned, repaired, and remodeled; *thousands of jars of food* have been canned to conserve garden and field surplus to feed families on relief lists. Free lunches and even breakfasts have been prepared and served by homemaking departments to children whose families were unable to feed them properly. Undoubtedly, every homemaking department in the country has contributed in a material way to relief work in its own locality. Schoolwork in homemaking has been of outstanding value in making material contribution to relief programs.

This contribution of material things is not the only factor to be emphasized in taking stock of this work in our schools today. In the relief program it is the most important thing, but, in the homemaking program, it is of the least importance. Rather must we consider the benefits in changes resulting from these activities in courses of study,

content of courses, methods of teaching, and coöperation with homes, organizations, and communities.

The following paragraphs illustrate some of these benefits.

Remodeling clothes has always been difficult for teachers because the work must, of necessity, be individual. The problem of how to handle large classes in this difficult project has led to the introduction of mothers, clever at this job, as assistant teachers. The outcome of this unusual procedure has been twofold: The teacher realizes that homemakers have a real contribution to make to home-making work and the homemaker is learning about the schoolwork, and thereby has more confidence in it and more respect for it.

When their department budgets have been cut, teachers have discovered that there are other sources of class supplies than the Board of Education. Not only has the Red Cross given materials for clothing, but local dry-goods stores have helped as well and farmers have gladly supplied surplus food materials.

Needy families have been adopted by classes in home-making. The clothing of the family group has been a very real problem, giving rise to a study of the clothing needs, how to meet them, making and buying all kinds of clothing, and helping to teach care and repair.

A similar thing has been done for families needing help in food problems. Pupils in homemaking classes have helped in planning meals, buying food, caring for it, and preparing it for meals. A need such as this gives a real motive for studying the value of food and its preparation for satisfying meals.

Never has the school lunch loomed as important in the school program as it does today. Children's health is of vital importance to the community, the school, and the family. Plans are now in operation in many towns, cities, and rural communities making it possible for every child to have a hot dish at noon. Food has been available when money has not, so a barter plan has been in operation. This has increased the patronage, lowered the selling price,

and fed all children who cannot go home at the noon hour. With this increased patronage, the need for better lunch supervision has led school principals and teachers to consider the educational opportunity of this project in correct food habits and good manners at the table. Plans are already in operation in some parts of New York State for giving parents assistance in preparing proper lunches for children and helping the children in the school lunchroom to eat orderly, neatly, and happily.

One of the most important outcomes of the past year in the State program of homemaking education is the organization of county units of homemaking teachers. The only local leadership in the State heretofore has been in the cities where there has been a city supervisor. With this county organization there is now a leader of homemaking teachers in every county of the State. The purpose of this movement is to draw the homemaking teachers together so that they may feel conscious of their professional group and to interest them in other county groups as well as county programs for home betterment.

The importance of adult homemakers in the school homemaking program is beginning to be recognized by homemaking teachers and some school administrators. Teachers are realizing more and more that the homemaker has valuable experience which she, the teacher, lacks; that the homemaker can be of real value in building a sensible, practical, and functioning course in homemaking; that she can do more to entrench the work in the community and in the school program than the Board of Education. She realizes also that without the coöperation of the adult homemaker classroom teaching may sometimes be wasted. What results can be expected by teaching Mary to drink a quart of milk a day if Mother does not see the need and provide it?

Outcomes of these realizations on the teacher's part lead to more home visiting, the organization of advisory committees for homemaking departments, and adult classes for the parents of school children.

New York State has led in its relief program in educa-

tion. Homemaking classes for adults as part of this program of the State Department of Education, financed by the Temporary Emergency Relief Administration, has made work for 240 women who are teaching these classes, and is offering to thousands of homemakers the help they need in adjustments to lowered incomes and the limitations of relief.

Evaluating the homemaking program in the light of the foregoing paragraphs we see homemaking education coming out of the classroom to share in the problems of home, community, and school. Real living situations in homes and in the community are motivating classwork. The teacher is beginning to realize that it is not good teaching to tell children what to do and how to do it, but that good teaching is to help them learn how to think and how to make decisions; that homemakers are an asset in building and operating any program for homemaking education; that there are other sources of materials than the Board of Education; that to help children adjust themselves to everyday changing conditions is helping them face adulthood with wisdom and good sense; that there are other values in life than material values, and that homemaking education is only one of many factors for developing an integrated individual.

There is little question but that homemaking education has passed its probationary period, but a great responsibility rests upon its leaders to see that it comes out of the schoolroom and takes a permanent place in home and community life. To have the school homemaking center the counseling center for the homemaking problems of the community is an ideal that we can well hold for future achievement.

## COMMERCIAL VOCATIONAL EDUCATION

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In accordance with the general plan of the editor, this

article is a brief appraisal of a few significant characteristics of commercial vocational education during the past five years (1929-1934), and an indication of some of the lines of advancement which, we believe, should characterize the program of the immediate future.

At the outset it is well to bear in mind that business education in public secondary schools of this country has two main phases: (1) commercial general education, representing a major phase of a well-rounded general education from the standpoint of every citizen who must deal with the business system in the purchase of necessities of life; and (2) commercial vocational education, representing a major phase of vocational education from the standpoint of those persons who are interested in preparing for initial employment, improvement of service, or ultimate promotion in certain commercial occupations—particularly those in clerical pursuits, financial service, retail and outdoor selling, and other distributive or marketing positions in general.

#### THE TRAINING EMPHASIS

Table I gives data with regard to the number of wage earners in commercial occupations in 1900, 1920, and 1930, as found in the United States Census Reports.<sup>1</sup> It is noticed that the total number of commercial wage earners has become an increasingly larger proportion of the total number of wage earners, 7.9 per cent in 1900, 16.3 per cent in 1920, and 19.3 per cent in 1930, due to the well-known rapidly advancing mechanization of industrial and agricultural processes. Of those engaged in the distributive or marketing pursuits, the number in 1900 comprised 8.18 per cent of all wage earners, and in 1930, 16.21 per cent.<sup>2</sup> It has been intricate problems of distribution which have represented particularly aggravating sore spots in the business system during the depression period.

<sup>1</sup>Herbert A. Tonne, "Trends in Business Occupations," *The Journal of Business Education*, October 1933, pp. 18-20.

<sup>2</sup>John A. Stevenson, "Looking Ahead in Business Education," *National Business Education Quarterly*, October 1932, p. 17.

TABLE I  
NUMBER OF PERSONS ENGAGED IN BUSINESS OCCUPATIONS IN THE UNITED STATES IN  
1900, 1920, AND 1930

Occupation	1900	Per Cent	1920	Per Cent	1930	Per Cent
Clerical group	701,749	23.8	2,011,282	30.0	2,529,977	26.9
Selling group	1,457,936	49.4	2,405,647	39.7	4,016,406	42.7
Managerial and agency group	430,837	14.5	716,143	10.5	1,121,726	11.9
Bookkeepers, accountants, and cashiers	254,880	8.5	731,688	10.8	930,648	9.9
Stenographers, and typists	112,361	3.8	618,134	9.0	811,190	8.6
Total in business occupations	2,997,826	7.9*	6,814,914*	16.3*	9,409,917	19.3*
Total gainfully occupied	38,167,336	41.5†	41,614,218†	39.4†	48,829,920	39.8†

The per cents indicate the proportion of workers in each group compared to all engaged in business occupations, excepting the last two of each column.

\*Per cent of total number of wage earners

†Per cent of total population

Yet, in spite of this well-known and widely discussed situation, public secondary-school business education has tenaciously clung to the conventional subjects of book-keeping, shorthand, and typewriting, in which the vast majority of the 1,600,000 commercial pupils are enrolled. Practically nothing has been done to broaden the program to include the distributive occupations. It did not require the depression period to reveal this meagerness of commercial vocational education. That fact has been recognized and strongly urged by certain business educators for more than a decade. However, one might reasonably expect that the depression would give the complacency of business curriculum makers an effective jolt. This statement, of course, is based on the assumption that the vocational objective is recognized and stoutly claimed by such curriculum makers, and that the general education objective is not the sole or even principal objective by which the business-education program is usually justified. Such narrowness of vocational outlook, in general, has been true in both full-time and part-time (day and evening) schools, particularly in the comprehensive or general public high schools. An example is found in the comparative numbers enrolled in shorthand and salesmanship classes as shown in Table II.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup>Earl W. Barnhart, "Commercial Education," Sixteenth Annual Report of the Federal Board for Vocational Education, Part I, Sect. 4, 1932, pp. 50-51.

TABLE II  
NUMBER ENROLLED IN SHORTHAND AND SALESMANSHIP CLASSES, 1927-1928, AND  
NUMBER EMPLOYED, 1930.

Class	Male		Female	
	High-School Enrollment	Employed Age 18-19	High-School Enrollment	Employed Age 18-19
Shorthand.....	47,641	4,862	203,990	118,791
Salesmanship.....	4,983	63,457	4,989	54,988

The limited range of commercial vocational education may be illustrated not only as between clerical and distributive pursuits, but even within the clerical pursuits as between bookkeeping and stenographic positions as one group, and the other clerical occupations, as those of filing, machine operation, stock clerk, correspondent, etc. An outstanding research effort in revealing this situation was that of Nichols.<sup>4</sup>

#### OLDER ENTRANTS WANTED IN BUSINESS OCCUPATIONS

It is common knowledge that business is more and more calling for persons of greater maturity and more education as beginners in the clerical, financial, and distributive positions. There was a time when eighth-grade graduates were wanted in large numbers, then high-school drop-outs, then high-school graduates, and now the trend is for an increasing proportion of persons of post-high-school education. Table III<sup>6</sup> reflects the situation for certain commercial occupations.

TABLE III  
NUMBER OF YOUNGER WAGE EARNERS IN CERTAIN COMMERCIAL OCCUPATIONS

Occupation	Age 10-17 Inclusive		Age 18-19 Inclusive		Age 20-24 Inclusive	
	1920-1930	1920-1930	1920-1930	1920-1930	1920-1930	1920-1930
Clerks, except in stores.....	135,466	77,193	161,902	183,296	363,915	500,881
Stenographers and typists.....	62,591	33,643	109,958	123,653	230,706	317,612
Salesmen and saleswomen.....	72,933	66,483	75,750	116,667	211,215	340,478
Clerks in stores.....	60,569	35,490	49,798	52,921	95,240	104,429
Retail dealers.....	2,718	2,791	9,815	12,006	71,757	88,638

If space for Table III permitted, it would be even more significant for training purposes to show the numbers for men and women separately rather than for both as a group. Furthermore, with child labor practically abolished under the NRA codes, these statistics for the age group 10-17, inclusive, are still further greatly reduced.

<sup>4</sup>Frederick G. Nichols, "A New Conception of Office Practice," Harvard Bulletins in Education, No. XII, 1927 (Out of print, but usually available in libraries).

<sup>6</sup>Alfred Sorensen, "Employment Trends 1910-1930." Mimeographed statement prepared by graduate students at the University of California, p. 8.

The present changing employment situation means for the public high schools and part-time day and evening schools that real commercial vocational education, as preparatory and extensive types of instruction, should be definitely deferred to the older age groups only. Commercial general education for the younger age groups will more and more displace the vocational type in providing a universal business education for all buyers of the necessities of life. It does not need to be emphasized that a business course should be organized and taught with either the vocational or general objective in mind, and not with a confusion of both objectives for any one course.

In this matter of up-grading commercial vocational education to fit older age groups in keeping with the demands of business, the work of the Central School of Business and Arts of New York City is one of the most noteworthy examples in the country.<sup>6</sup> Another excellent example is the Merritt Business School of Oakland, California.<sup>7</sup>

At this point it is interesting to recall certain educational principles which have been stated by the Joint Commission on the Emergency in Education:

Provide suitable education at public expense and require attendance from early childhood until employment is advisable and obtainable. . . . Provide whatever educational facilities for adults which will best serve the welfare of society. . . . Rehabilitate through public education the workers forced from a particular occupation.<sup>8</sup>

The present National Recovery Program must finally resolve itself into a National *Reconstruction* Program based on increasing general and vocational education of the rank and file of American citizens, juveniles and adults, if permanent and enduring benefits are to ensue. In such a program of general uplift, commercial vocational education, in terms of a wide range of commercial employments for beginners and for those already employed, awaits a new development such as has never before taken place. The significant work

<sup>6</sup>William Dow Boutwell, "Education on 42nd Street," *School Life*, November 1933, pp. 44-46.

<sup>7</sup>R. R. Stuart, "The Merritt Business School," *The Journal of Business Education*, May 1932, pp. 13-16.

<sup>8</sup>Report of National Conference on the Financing of Education. National Education Association, Washington, D. C., 1933, p. 12.



of the Central School of Business and Arts, already referred to, is prophetic of a great educational change that is certain to come if the scales of tradition will fall from the eyes of business curriculum makers. If this does not happen, a new generation of business educators, alive to new conditions and new opportunities, will take control and lead the way.

Certain principles will characterize the future program of commercial vocational education. Among them will be:

1. Candidates rigorously selected according to occupational standards
2. Supply of well-qualified candidates kept within demand
3. Teaching materials thoroughly overhauled or newly built to meet occupational standards
4. Teachers competent to practice the occupations as well as to teach them
5. Close working relations with those business leaders who are willing to assume joint responsibility with business educators for real vocational training as tested in successful occupational experience

## THE CONTINUATION SCHOOLS

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In 1929 the continuation schools reached the peak of their development. At that time, the schools in New York City had a register of 65,000 children who were programmed on a four-hour-a-week basis in industrial, commercial, home-making, and academic courses. The program was one of guidance in a very flexible organization. The pupils were employed at good wages averaging fifteen dollars a week. The unemployment throughout the city was less than two per cent. One hour was spent every day by each teacher in individual counseling, another was devoted to visitation at the home or the place of employment, and four hours were given to the classroom, teaching those things which were most helpful to the adolescent in the adjustment from school life to work life.

From 1929 to the present, the picture has gradually changed. Many of the services to the young workers

have been wiped out and new activities have been substituted. The coming year will be filled with additional changes, whether for better or worse, it is difficult to foretell.

The first effect of the depression was felt by the employment bureau. The placements of a single school dropped from 350 a month to 50 and the pupils instead of being 98 per cent employed, reported an unemployment of 20 to 25 per cent. With this drop in employment and the inability of new pupils to obtain work, the register in the continuation schools fell from 65,000 in 1929 to 32,000 in 1933.

In order to use the facilities and to provide an admittedly needed service, the continuation schools adopted the adult-education program. In 1931 the continuation schools gave training to over 4,000 unemployed adults, of all ages, both men and women. Short unit rehabilitation courses were offered in both summer and winter sessions.

Due to economic retrenchment, New York City slashed the educational budget and this adult-education program was discontinued on the ground that the schools were for the children of the city. This service was eliminated for a few weeks only. The State Department of Education had seen the wonderful work accomplished in adult education and the effect of this training as a rehabilitation factor. With unemployment funds, the State hired teachers from relief lists and reestablished the classes. The work of rehabilitation is continuing and the State hopes to be able to continue with funds from the bond issue approved at the November 1933 election.

In September 1931 and in February 1932, large groups of minors, who did not fit into the academic high-school course, came to the doors of the continuation schools and asked for full-time training in some sort of vocational work. With well-equipped shops and a declining continuation-school register, the continuation schools accepted these young people and introduced industrial high-school courses on the basis of thirty hours a week, fifteen hours in the

shop and fifteen hours in academic work. These courses were started and planned on a two-year basis but will be extended in many cases to three and four years. Some courses have been centralized and the general continuation school gives the work of only the first six months or the first year, after which the pupil is sent to a school devoting most of its time to a particular activity. This is true of printing, auto mechanics, commerce, the needle trades, and the building trades. At the present time, the total register of the industrial high-school classes in the continuation schools is greater than the register of the regular industrial high schools.

Prior to the organization of the full-time industrial high-school classes and the apprentice classes in the continuation schools, the Board of Education reduced the teaching staff by an average of 20 per cent. In some schools this reduction in teaching service was very much larger. Services which were extremely valuable to the continuation schools and to the guidance program were entirely eliminated. The teachers were forced to work for eight periods a day in the classroom. No time was allowed for counseling or for extramural visitation.

Along with this great loss in teaching service came a reduction in funds available for supplies and equipment. This amounted to 66 2-3 per cent of the previous year's allotment, causing much of the material for classroom use to be brought to school by the pupils from homes and junk yards.

The pupil load was increased from 135 to more than 200 pupils a week. This is an increase in teaching load from 27 pupils a day to 40 pupils a day for every class, including shop classes. Such an increase has reduced the efficiency of the teacher as a counselor and guide. It is impossible for a teacher to do individualized work with classes of this size. Accidents in the shops have increased and there are more absences among the teachers due to nervous strain.

As the depression developed, experienced attendance

officers were assigned to the investigation of unemployment relief and the distribution of food and clothing to the poor. These men and women were replaced by people from the relief lists. The enforcement of attendance has been somewhat retarded due to the lack of experience of these temporary officers, the irregularity of the work, and the constant change in the personnel.

With the organization of the NRA, the President's emphasis on the elimination of child labor and the acceptance of industrial codes, the employment of children under sixteen years of age practically ceased. Beginning in September 1933, the employment certificating officers denied employment certificates to any one under sixteen years of age except girls who wished to obtain working papers to stay at home. For a time, most of the employment certificates issued were for such girls. The demand for permits to stay at home grew into a "racket" until the issuance of these certificates was centralized and each case was carefully investigated to determine the actual need. After New York City established this policy, the issuance of employment certificates was confined to the children between sixteen and seventeen years of age. Few of these are being issued because of the minimum-wage clause in the various industrial codes. Employers feel that if they must pay the minimum wage, they will employ older people.

The continuation-school registers have constantly been reduced during the depression. Although not officially, the fourteen- to sixteen-year-old group has been eliminated from employment, and, therefore, from the continuation schools. It is generally expected that the next session of the legislature will raise the compulsory school age to meet the requirements of the NRA and no one under sixteen years of age will be allowed to work. Under the present law, this will leave only the sixteen- to seventeen-year-old group in the continuation schools. It is not known what action the legislature will take in regard to this group. With the present attitude there are three possibilities: (1) a return to the original law and a requirement that all pupils

who are not high-school graduates and who are between sixteen and eighteen years of age shall attend part-time school; (2) a rise in the minimum requirements of four hours of attendance to the maximum requirement of eight hours of attendance for the sixteen- to seventeen-year-old group; (3) retention of the law as it is and only requiring the sixteen- to seventeen-year-old boy and girl to attend continuation school. It appears that either proposition one or two, or a combination of one and two, is the most feasible and probable.

With the general trends in industrial, commercial, home-making, and part-time education, the depression itself and the institutions arising from the depression will force wide changes in continuation schools.

The schools must continue to function for the fourteen-, fifteen-, and sixteen-year-old child who, under other conditions, would be inducted into employment. They must provide, on a full-time basis, some type of education for those pupils who are not fitted for or interested in the traditional type of college preparatory education. It seems, therefore, that from the depression a new type of school, with one-, two-, three-, and four-year courses, will emerge which will train these minors in a broad vocational experience. There will be a variety of activities: apprentice training, adult training, straight shop courses for the mentally slow, trade-finding courses, trade-preparatory courses, academic courses, and part-time courses.

In order to carry out this new development in education, the community must provide adequate school facilities, sufficient equipment, and materials with which to work. The trend is so marked that educators must give it their best efforts.

The present continuation schools are rapidly being revolutionized and out of the depression will arise a combination part-time and full-time school, which it is hoped will more adequately meet the needs of this adolescent group and of the adult group.

# INDUSTRIAL-ARTS EDUCATION

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The foundations of our social controls, economic regulations, and ethics are shifting rapidly. The changes in thinking about social and economic problems have brought and will bring revisions of the curricula which form the basis of educational activities in the public schools. The industrial-arts curriculum has been and will be no exception to the other curricula. New philosophies of education will evolve to give new direction to educational thought in an attempt to offer such activities in the schools as will tend to help pupils to adjust themselves better to new and changed living conditions.

It would be absurd to attempt to predict exactly what changes in industrial-arts activities in the public schools will actually occur. It is possible, nevertheless, and perhaps profitable, to visualize the uses that can and probably will be made of industrial-arts activities in the program of general education.

## IN THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL

Primarily, the purpose of education is to give direction to the responses of pupils to stimuli so that these responses will be desirable according to the most generally accepted of the present and immediate future social, economic, and ethical standards. In life outside of the school, the large majority of stimuli or situations that demand responses from pupils of the elementary-school age are face-to-face stimuli or situations. Furthermore, the success of the responses depends largely upon the successful operation of the sensory and motor nerves. It is about the responses to these face-to-face situations that children talk, think, dream, and ask questions. Elementary schools conducted according to modern educational theory and practice are organized on the basis of pupil activities, according to this natural learning situation as it is found in real living.

Such an organization demands shops, laboratories, or places where first-hand contacts can be made with situations that are full of problems which stimulate pupils of the elementary-school age to respond whole-heartedly, naturally, and vigorously. This kind of response leads to social conflicts which must be adjusted; to economic problems of obtaining, using, and owning supplies, equipment, etc., that must be met; and to questions of ethics or fair play that are constantly present. Briefly, education in its fullest sense occurs in a modern progressive elementary school. Pupils respond to real living situations; *i.e.*, live naturally, create, make, do, and observe things in shops and laboratories; talk about their responses; *i.e.*, oral English and social adjustment; make a record of their responses; *i.e.*, symbolic expression such as writing, art, music, and drama; study records of what other people have done to meet situations similar to those with which they are confronted; *i.e.*, social science, general science, applied science, and art, and literature. To summarize: the modern progressive elementary school is so organized and administered that the pupils have opportunity to respond to living situations naturally and fully and to express themselves by actual doing and by symbolic expression.

Education, as briefly described above, prepares a pupil to do critical thinking or to use common sense when he is faced with modern daily problems of living. Each hour of the day one is called upon to use some product of the arts of industry. Food, clothing, shelter, travel, health, and social relationships are affected and to a large extent controlled by the products of industry.

Since the everyday situations in life are so interrelated with the industrial arts, it would seem logical that the problematic situations that the pupils face in the progressive elementary school are so interwoven with industrial-arts education that the activities could not be carried on without the industrial-arts activities. In fact, the shop and laboratory activities are the basis of all the other activities in the school. It would seem that educators in increasing num-

bers are recognizing this fact and will eventually organize the shop and laboratory activities as the core of the elementary-school curriculum.

#### IN THE SECONDARY SCHOOLS

A comparatively new concept of the responsibility, co-operation, and control of the individual in his relation to society has had a sudden and tremendous growth. It is difficult to determine what has caused this phenomenal growth. Among the various causes will be found a more comprehensive understanding of the social and economic problems. The studies that have been made of these problems indicate the need of a number of changes. A great experiment is now in progress in which some of the most obviously needed changes are being tried.

Whatever the results of this experimentation may be, one outcome of interest to the educator is certain; *i.e.*, a much greater need for a definite and detailed as well as a more comprehensive survey of the interrelation of social and economic problems. The need for school activities that will give opportunity to the pupils to acquire this kind of knowledge is imperative.

This detailed as well as comprehensive aspect of the interrelation of economic and social problems cannot be obtained by a memorization of theories alone. Surely educators have realized that this kind of knowledge and judgment demands laboratory or contact experience upon which theory and principle may be built. First-hand contact or laboratory experiences, wider in variety and richer in content, will become more and more necessary if pupils are to be prepared intelligently to meet the social-economic problems that confront the Nation today. This is especially true if these problems are to be met by a democratic form of government.

Society has, in the more civilized countries, reached the stage where it refuses to stand idly by and allow the fit, the less fit, and the unfit to perish or suffer unnecessarily. This is a comparatively new development of social standards and consequently there is little or nothing in the present



educational program and policies adequately to foster or direct this tremendous stride in social growth or to prepare the individual to play his part to meet this new demand of a society which has acquired an overdeveloped industrial organization.

The secondary school should, therefore, provide adequate laboratories where all pupils actually meet and solve problems in social-civic, commercial, and industrial living if the social and political controls, which must be applied to carry on successfully these apparently desirable social-economic relations, are to remain democratic controls. Education should be more than a memorization of information from books and symbols. It should also be an assimilation of the fruits of experience and the exercise of poise, judgment, and common sense. Since the ability to assimilate (not memorize) information and new ideas from books is largely controlled by the past experiences of each individual, it would seem advisable that opportunities for experiences should form a basic part of the secondary-education program.

Such a program would call for more fully equipped laboratories in which pupils would experience fine arts and pure science, social arts and science, industrial arts and science, commercial art and economics, and political arts and science. Each and every pupil must have experiences in *all* of these activities before he can adequately understand what is written or symbolically expressed about them. At present these types of experience, if they are offered as experiences, in the secondary schools are special experiences and the program and policy is such that any one individual pupil must stay within one of these fields of experience or he cannot be graduated on schedule.

Obviously, the secondary schools are graduating pupils who have had specialized experience which is practically useless to that pupil as a basis for interpreting symbolic expressions of experience in other activities. To meet the social-economic problems that face the world today it would seem highly important that the curriculum of the secondary

school should become less specialized and that all pupils should be exposed to a more diversified range of experiences. This would necessitate the extension of the time spent in the secondary school or the establishment of junior colleges in the public-school system. It would require more prescriptive and less elective courses.

If this much needed change in secondary education is made, the industrial-arts curriculum will have to be modified and extended. Laboratory experiences will be required activities throughout the secondary-school period. This will require in some places more shop space and more and differently trained teachers. In some places, it will simply fill the present shops to full capacity. The industrial-arts shops will become more like laboratories in which pupils will be confronted with social-industrial problems. In the solution of these problems, the pupils will acquire experiences which will form a basis for an intelligent interpretation of social and industrial problems about which they hear, see, and read. The manipulative and technical content of the industrial-arts curriculum will not need to be changed, but it will be necessary to make drastic changes in what is now called related information.

Changes also will be necessary in the methods of teaching and organization. Finally, if this needed change in secondary education is made, the industrial-arts shops will cease to be merely places to give training and specialized knowledge to a selected group of pupils and will become laboratories where all pupils will be required to undergo experiences which will give them a much needed part of an educational background that will enable them intelligently to attempt the solution of the social-economic problems by which we of the old school have been so badly beaten or, at least, temporarily bewildered.

## ADVANCES IN CURRICULUM REVISION

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Until very recently vocational educators, labor, and em-

ployers talked of vocational education in terms of preparing each individual for some one specific occupation, generally a skilled trade. Today it is contended that industry changes so rapidly that no job is secure from the ravages of technological change. We may point to a number of trades which have changed little in many years and do not appear destined to change greatly in the near future. But enough highly skilled and apparently stable occupations have either disappeared or have been radically changed so that many are beginning to question the stability of any occupation. It is pointed out that lack of stability for the individual may result not only from changes that wipe out occupations or radically change the skills required, but from changes that increase the productive capacity of the worker or reduce the demand for the product and thus reduce the number of workers needed.

Several ways of meeting the situation are developing or have been suggested. One is to add in each trade course some additional work in an allied occupation. For example, it is contended that if we include more machine-shop practice in our auto-mechanics course we will turn out just as good or probably even better auto mechanics, and, at the same time, make it easier for them to adjust themselves to possible shifts such as those already described. This plan sometimes includes a lengthened course to permit the addition of some skills in an allied occupation without reducing the proficiency of the student in the specific skills required in the occupation that he is preparing to enter upon completion of his course. Some difficulties arise in the application of this procedure. In some cases, it is very difficult to find closely allied types of training. If the course is not lengthened, the training may not meet the market demands for labor, and those taking the training may find themselves unable to secure jobs in the occupation for which they were trained. If the course is lengthened, we may find the number who complete it too small to warrant the change. These conditions vary in different localities and in different fields of training. Where the compulsory school-age limit is high or the community psychology favors

students remaining in school after the compulsory age limit, courses can probably be lengthened to advantage. Where two types of work are as closely allied as auto mechanics and machine-shop practice, the broadening of the course without lengthening it can probably be done without endangering the employability of graduates. Under this plan, carpentry, cabinet and millwork might be combined into a more general woodworking course; plumbing might be expanded to become plumbing and heating; and the painter might add paperhanging and some skills in furniture refinishing and, possibly, sign painting.

A second development has been to give students a year or more of a general vocational course before placing them in the more intensive and more specialized training offered in the regular trade courses. The general vocational course usually includes a variety of jobs selected from a number of skilled trades, though in one instance, to be described later, it is based on a selection of jobs from the semiskilled field of employment. This scheme involves a lengthening of the total training period, but the amount of time spent in the skilled-trade training may be reduced somewhat (if the individual instruction method is used) because of the better preparation for the work effected by the training given in the general vocational course.

The closing of industry to boys and girls under sixteen has thrown upon the vocational schools a new problem which has been attacked in one case by the development of a curriculum that, so far as the writer has been able to determine, is entirely new. The Essex County Vocational Schools, New Jersey, have surveyed the field of employment in Essex County of the fourteen- to eighteen-year-old boys and girls who worked in industry during those years of their lives. These schools have developed a general vocational course for boys and a similar course for girls based on this survey. The courses include semiskilled and odd jobs from industry, simple domestic and personal-service jobs, and selling jobs in chain stores and small neighborhood stores. The school bulletin states: "Each offers a

series of experiences which are designed to develop dexterity in a variety of semiskilled industrial jobs for those who plan to go directly from such a course into industry. They will also serve as good foundation courses for those who later expect to enter one of the skilled occupation courses offered in the vocational schools. The instruction is suited to a wide range of student abilities. It spreads horizontally to produce an adaptability to a variety of jobs or occupations instead of vertically to produce skill in one occupation only as it does in the skilled occupation courses." Proper work attitudes and habits are stressed as major objectives of these courses.

Industry has for years been gradually raising its standards for workers in many occupations. This process has been speeded up by the depression. We find some vocational schools raising their entrance requirements and increasing the standards of work required in order to meet these new industrial conditions. Some have added a year or even two years to the length of their courses. The additions to curricula brought about by these changes include more difficult mechanical skills in the given occupation; skills not specifically required in the occupation but designed to broaden the student, give him a better understanding of his job, and lay the foundation for promotion; additional technical knowledges and skills needed to meet industrial demands for greater understanding on the part of skilled workers and to lay the foundation for promotion; additional nonvocational subjects, particularly economics, to give the worker a better understanding of the industrial world in which he works. We need to be careful in our enthusiasm for education to be sure of the need for extending the length of our courses. It is true that some skilled occupations require more training today than they did in the past, but it seems doubtful if this is true of all skilled occupations. Our curricula should be based on careful analyses of the occupations and their content derived from actual needs. We should not let ourselves be led into an arbitrary setting of increased time to be spent in training and then look

around for material to occupy the student during that time.

While the radical shifts in employment possibilities are making vocational schools conscious of the need of training for vocational adaptability, only a few schools seem to recognize that this adaptability cannot be achieved by a hit-or-miss offering of a variety of experiences but must be based on careful surveys of industrial conditions. Such surveys should be comprehensive, but they should not be long-drawn-out nor should they include the great amount of detail so frequently embodied in surveys. The cost of such a procedure is too high and the conditions surveyed sometimes change so rapidly as to make the survey almost useless when completed. Some definite techniques that are less costly and productive of quicker results are developing. One such technique uses existing analyses or surveys from other localities as a starting point and, by using instructors and an advisory committee properly selected to represent different sizes and kinds of establishments, rapidly checks such analyses or surveys with local conditions. Sometimes minor changes and additions are all that are needed to produce a trade analysis or a survey of industrial conditions suited to local conditions. A technique of effective sampling, followed by careful estimating of the complete picture from these samples, is needed to meet the needs of proper adjustment to a rapidly changing industrial situation. There are evidences that such a technique is evolving.

In our efforts to revise vocational curricula to produce vocational adaptability or versatility, we should not lose sight of the fact that there are individuals who want and need intensive units of instruction in both day and evening schools in one or more phases of a specific occupation. These may be boys or girls who have attended a general course of some kind until they find it necessary to acquire quickly some skills that will make them employable, or they may be men or women who need such training to adjust themselves quickly to new jobs or to changes in old jobs. We face the necessity of organizing our schools so that those who want and need the more general type of training

may be served along with those who need the more intensive and specific training. It calls for a flexible administration, well-organized curricula, and individual instruction and progress. In spite of a few outstanding examples, very little general progress has been made as yet in setting up curricula in which students progress on the basis of accomplishment instead of time. This is one of the outstanding needs in the field of curriculum revision.

## THE FUNCTIONS OF ANALYSIS

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Analysis is a process which has long been used in the sciences. Chemical analysis, for instance, is the process of resolving a compound into its constituent elements. The physician uses this process in his study of symptoms, and the lawyer in his study of evidence. The analysis, however, is but a means to an end and not the ultimate objective. The physician uses his analysis as a basis for diagnosis and treatment, while the lawyer briefs his case in accordance with the facts revealed by his analysis. In general, it may be said that the process of analysis is used for the purpose of resolving a complex situation into elements that may be synthesized in their relation to some definite objective.

Analysis in the field of vocational education is used in much the same way as in medicine and law. Some confusion has arisen due to a rather loose nomenclature, which includes such terms as "job analysis," "trade analysis," "industrial analysis," "vocational analysis," "occupational analysis," etc. One way to avoid confusion of meaning is to designate the purpose or objective towards which the results of the analysis are to be directed; for example:

1. An analysis to determine the content of instruction for a unit trade course
2. An analysis for purposes of vocational guidance
3. An analysis or survey to determine the scope of a vocational program for a given community
4. An analysis for setting job specifications

As a matter of practice, analysis is best employed for one purpose at a time, and the more clearly that purpose is defined, the better the chance for success.

The most frequent uses of analysis in the vocational-education field are: (1) for determination of content of instruction, and (2) for vocational guidance. These are two quite distinct objectives, and around them may well be grouped most of the pertinent observations on the functions of analysis.

If the objective of a unit or series of units of instruction is to offer an opportunity to an individual to equip himself for a given occupation, it naturally follows that the content of the instruction must be determined by the answer to two questions: (1) What must a successful worker in his occupation be able to do? (2) What does he have to know? This information may be obtained by analyzing the occupation in terms of operations to be performed and the knowledge essential to their performance. Each operation in turn is broken down into its component steps or even motions. In actual practice, the analysis of operations is done in part coincident with the synthetic process of constructing instruction sheets or text material. The final test of the analysis is found in the subject matter being taught. It should *directly function* in the occupation towards which the training is directed. This method of determining functioning content is one of the outstanding contributions of vocational education. Wider use of the method is prevented by our apparent inability as school people to set up specific attainable objectives for many of our school "subjects." Possibly more emphasis on the development of definite abilities or skills would enable us to state these objectives more specifically. Bobbitt and Charters have done pioneer work in this direction, but much remains to be done before results become apparent in curricula and courses.

Analysis in relation to vocational guidance presents a twofold aspect: (1) analysis of occupations, (2) analysis of individuals. Much more has been done with the former



than with the latter. The literature of the field is rather extensive, the analysis technique is fairly well developed, and the work of the National Occupational Conference assures a coördination of the present work being done in the field.

On the other hand, very little has been done towards developing methods of analysis of the individual in terms of abilities, aptitudes, interests, experiences, and personality traits. In making such an analysis, account must be taken of the fact that an occupation is but one phase of the life of an individual. He has to make physical, social, and mental adjustments which may be partly or wholly outside of his occupation.

Although many individuals and institutions have worked on various phases of this problem, one of the most comprehensive experiments was conducted by the Minnesota Employment Stabilization Research Institute, which made a two-year study directed along these lines. The Adjustment Service is making a practical application of the methods developed in the Minnesota study. As a result, there has been developed a technique of individual analysis to be used as an aid in guidance. Later evaluations will give some indication of the value of the Service, the need for better measuring instruments, and the necessity for well-trained workers. For present purposes the important point to be noted is that the process of analysis is being used to ascertain specific characteristics which an individual may synthesize into a program which relates not only to his occupation, but to his physical, mental, and social life.

Very few people realize the extent to which the analytic process is used in daily life. All situations requiring responses other than those to which we are habituated involve analysis and an accompanying synthesis to determine action. The person of sound judgment is the one who can resolve a complex situation into its component elements and realign these elements in relationship to their bearing on the problem in hand.

Unfortunately, our schools afford all too little training

which aims specifically to develop skill in these processes. Although individuals do develop this ability in varying degrees, it is more a matter of natural ability and chance than the result of formal education.

Practically all that has been said and written about the subject is from the standpoint of the use of the process of analysis by a teacher or a specialist. May it not be timely to consider the extent to which pupils may be trained to acquire skill in its use?

## VOCATIONAL EDUCATION FOR LEISURE

FRANKLIN J. KELLER

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This is the catharsis of pet peeves. This is the loud wail of the teacher. This is the vigorous, in a manner of speaking, protest of the person, who, before the depression, used to be called the bulwark of the nation. This is to say to all timorous teachers, nervous employers, and unregenerate taxpayers that the job of vocational education is to educate for vocations, and through no hocus-pocus of the depression can it become a finishing school for the polite amenities or a preparation for leisurely time killing. In other words, it is not training for leisure.

To begin with, the words "depression" and "reconstruction" are like the word "crisis." For the individual who is born, and lives and dies over periods which totally disregard business and historical cycles, they do not exist. Somebody has spoken neatly of the perpetual crisis in education. For the boys and girls who wish to become self-sustaining adults, every situation presents a crisis, for they must go on and on. An economic depression is no more significant for society than a transient disease like influenza or typhoid or delirium tremens is significant for the individual. You get over it and must go on. Of course, you may lose a leg or become bedridden or go crazy, and your vocational aptitudes may change, but otherwise you must go on. Society may get so sick that it will funda-

mentally change its nature, even die, but as long as it lives, it must go on, and men and women must work for the goods that they want and must have. They must have paying jobs. They must be adapted to the fundamental tasks of the world, and they must be trained for them, for they must go on.

The depression is only a nodal point in a very sinuous line. Moreover, it is a measure of quantity rather than of quality. Within the field of economic activity occupations are differentiated. For some the lines go up, for others they go down. So we have variable factors within variable factors. For each individual, however, his line always goes up. If it does not, there is frustration and a sense of failure. As his life goes on, he must make a better adjustment to occupational life, and the vocational educator must help him to make it.

What is it that gets the worker his job: his personality, his culture, or his skill? What is meant by the employer when he says, "Give the boy a good fundamental education and I will take care of the rest"? What is meant by the schoolman when he says, "Give the boy a good sound cultural education and he will be able to do anything"? The employer and the schoolman mean precisely nothing or else they mean "Give him good vocational education." The employer will take care of "the rest." What "rest"? The specialties, the tricks involved in his particular business. His "good boy," "good material," "good character," and other "goods" are in large part products of specific, definite, well-focused training in the various phases of occupational life. They involve personality, they involve culture in varying degrees and proportions; that is to say, they involve attitudes and knowledge, but attitudes and knowledge never get a job for anybody, certainly never hold it, unless the possessor can do something with them. Even personality is useless in a vacuum, and really does not exist unless somebody else reacts to it. The reaction does not come unless the personality does something, acts, even "attitudinizes."

All this does not mean to say that every person must be trained in school for every job that exists. It does mean to say that there are no born actors, in the sense of "doers," and that this training must come somehow. It may come through conscious or unconscious imitation, as in the case of those who are born into families of actors, in the narrow sense. It may come through reading and reasoning, as in the case of the self-taught and the self-trained. But, in this day and age, not of the depression but of general technical development, it must come through socially planned, pedagogically devised, and industrially, commercially, and agriculturally authenticated vocational education.

What do people mean when they talk about technological changes and the dearth of skilled jobs and the lessening need of training for specialized skills, and the resulting desirability of "general vocational training?" This general vocational training is a curious thing. Everybody talks about it but nobody defines it. It may be that such a thing is possible. It is probably desirable in that it would extend the range of the worker's possible usefulness and would enable him to adapt himself to future shifts in the distribution of occupations. It is to be suspected, however, that the so-called "general" training would be an extension of activity over some small area rather than over the entire field of occupations. For a long time, a process of standardization has been going on in the metal trades so that the good machinist finds himself at home in nearly any metal-working factory, regardless of what the final product may be. However, an extension of this principle to other trades is made all too easily. Salesmanship would seem to lend itself to "general" training, but how easy is the shift from the chain store to life insurance to bonds to machine tools to hosiery? In the jargon of the vocational schools, there are differences in related technical information and in consumer groups which indicate marked differences in training or retraining procedures.

"In view of technological changes and of code provisions, working hours will be so short and work will be so simple

that what the schools now have to do is to train for leisure." Old Samuel Johnson might have said something to the effect that leisure (or training for it) was the last refuge of the scoundrelly schoolman. Unsuccessful in helping his boys and girls to fit themselves for the economic struggle, he will now fit them to enjoy what they have no means of getting. What on earth is the use of time on your hands if all you can do with it is to kill it? Millions of unemployed are finding no leisure, only time in which to bemoan their failure to find jobs and their inability to enjoy life. Leisure is something you have to buy; it does not just come, nor can it be trained for apart from training for the rest of life. A remunerative occupation enables one to buy the means of leisure and to maintain the peaceful state of mind requisite for its enjoyment.

Moreover, what in the name of all that is holy and educational have the schools been doing these past hundred years if they have not been training for leisure? Beyond mere reading, writing, and figuring for elementary communication purposes, haven't all the school subjects been designed to give "culture," that something which enables one to appreciate the finer things in life—literature, history, travel, art, music, good clean sport? The vast majority of subjects, up through the college, have professedly and boastfully not been vocational. Then what could they have been doing but teaching the good, the beautiful, and the true? Can it be that the adults of today, in their leisure moments, do not know what to do with the good, the beautiful, and the true? I believe that the small minority who, by intelligence and temperament were capable of absorbing this kind of schooling, do know what to do with it. The others do not and never will. The school must, and we have heard much and seen little of this, build its curriculum out of the realities of life, both vocational and avocational. But when the schoolmasters talk about beginning now to train for leisure, they must confess that they have made a miserable failure of what they have been doing in the past, or that they do not know what they are talking about. Neither alternative can make them very happy.

When the school, or the employer, or the community talks about the essential nature of training for character, he, or they, are on solid ground, but when they talk about getting the school to do the training, they are just whistling down the wind. What the school can do is to discover, select, and classify those personalities, the essential ingredients of which have been inherited and have been trained for at least six years before the school gets hold of them (this is a weak attempt to satisfy both the nature and nurture people), and to adapt the schoolwork to the ways of the world. In so-called abnormal cases, it will try to modify the personality. In other words, the school will begin to concentrate upon the individual in terms of an operating social mechanism. It will think of boys and girls in terms of occupational life. It will be a guidance institution. It will do all of this without in any way abdicating its right to work for a better society, one in which there will be no unemployed, where all the work will be done by all the people, where the flower of the public-school system, technically trained university graduates, will not become clothing-store models and filling-station attendants, where a living can be earned and a life can be lived abundantly.

It seems probable that vocational efficiency involves a combination of some things that are called personality, some that are called knowledge, and some that are called skills. It calls for a nice balance of mentality, emotionality, and physique. It is the task of the school to help the individual to discover the extent of his native endowment in each of these respects and to help him to make the most of it in relation to the demands of the world. In acquainting him with himself and with the world it is not too much to hope that the school will arouse in him such thought and stimulate him to such action as will in the end bring about a better world. In any case, a better method is still to be revealed. All this must go on in spite of, as well as because of, the depression, and with the assurance that the least of the worries of him who leads the good life will be the use of his leisure time.

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## EDITORIAL

The study of the social backgrounds of the school child is an important application of sociology to education. It emphasizes the sociological principle that no child develops in a social vacuum and that public education, if it is to function effectively, must take account of what happens to children at home, at work, and during leisure-time hours. It makes clear the fact that the school as an institution is an integral part of local social organization and, to be successful, must be responsive to local community needs.

The important point is the general failure of educational agencies to see the whole community and its needs. The clear lesson which the study of social backgrounds and informal influences has to offer professional education is the necessity for more careful educational planning, guided by sociological findings based on research. The same careful attention now given to teaching methods and internal school organization needs to be applied to the performance of social functions and the integration of the program of the school with the social structures and processes of the community. It is one thing to give philosophical recognition to this principle; it is quite another matter to apply the principle in practice on the basis of actual research findings.

FREDERIC M. THRASHER

## SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS AND INFORMAL EDUCATION

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Culture is the outstanding fact about human life. Man is not born human, but human nature is a superstructure which is developed by social interaction in groups of people. Most facts have meaning and significance only as they are defined by the cultural backgrounds in which they occur—by that consensus of social heritages composed of folkways and mores, groups and institutions, and fashions and public opinions which make up society. Here we have a basic sociological principle which explains why biological and psychological facts, in themselves, are not important to human beings.

Mental defectiveness, insanity, epilepsy, disease, deformity, and even life and death, for example, have significance for human beings only in the light of their social definitions. Thus, epilepsy has been socially defined at different times and places as oracular insight into the future, as religious inspiration, as witchcraft, as dangerous or repulsive abnormality, or as an unfortunate malfunctioning of the organism which demands sympathy and scientific medical attention. Life may be held dearly or cheaply depending upon group definitions and social heritages. To die for one's country may be given significance of a particular character. Ceremonial or institutionalized suicide as practised in Japan, India, and China illustrates the point.

Japan, China, and India until recently each had forms of suicide which were socially approved, committed in public with ceremony, and whose omission was not only "bad form," but cause for disgrace. The Hindu widow who burned herself on the funeral pyre of her husband or the Chinese widow who hanged herself in public may not have felt sufficiently grieved to kill herself; yet many widows in both India and China have killed themselves and been publicly honored for so doing. The Japanese warrior who killed himself when he and his lord faced defeat may have had many reasons for wishing to continue to live; yet



he followed the code of his class and died by his own hand, sometimes with hundreds of his comrades. These suicides are performed at the command of the social group and are usually related to crises in the life of the group; they have only an indirect relation to personal interests and wishes.<sup>1</sup>

It may be more important to maintain one's social status than to live; this is a reversal of the process of natural selection. This is societal selection.

*Informal education.* Most of the definitions of facts (social values) which the group gives its new members are not acquired through the formal processes of education as exemplified in schools and other educational agencies. Rather, they are the result of the universal process of social interaction which is expressed in face-to-face non-verbal contacts, but more largely through various types of communication which use social symbols or collective representations. It is this informal education which results in the transmission of the great body of folk knowledge and practical experience, which is utilized in daily life and in contacts with one's neighbors. Such informal educative processes are not intentional and are quite unconscious. Yet, it is through such processes that the great mass of nontechnical knowledge is acquired, and they are so effective that the personality and character of the child are shaped by them in a thousand different ways.

*Social contagion.* The processes of informal education are so pervasive and ubiquitous that they often assume the form of social contagion. In this way habits, attitudes, sentiments, ideas, and beliefs spread through a given group or stratum of society by interaction as if they had the epidemic qualities of a contagious disease. The processes of conditioning and imitation which underly social contagion are well known. Yet the reality of this process and its implications have not been realized in the development of educational procedures.

To apply this principle to a specific situation, we may point out the spread of delinquent attitudes, habits, and behavior patterns in the delinquency areas which have been delimited in many ecological studies of urban communities.

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<sup>1</sup>Ruth Shonle Cavan, *Suicide* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1928), p. 3.

It is one thing to understand the nature and sources of origin of attitudes and behavior patterns of the criminal. It is quite another matter to understand the processes whereby these attitudes and culture patterns are assimilated. This type of analysis is very important to education and crime prevention because it reveals crimino-genetic factors in their logical sequences.

The processes of social contagion so important in conditioning the work of the public school are well illustrated in Intervale,<sup>1</sup> an area in New York City. The reasons for a comparatively high rate of juvenile delinquency in Intervale become clearer from an examination of the basic facts about the area and of the life, activities, and interests of children and young people in the district. The key to the situation with regard to the prevalence of boy delinquency lies in understanding the extent and nature of the social contagion which is prevalent in this congested area. There are no normal boys in Intervale who are *individuals*; there are only *social beings*, whose characters and personalities are completely dominated by the multiform social influences which make up the complex of local life in this district. The life of children and adolescents in the area is distinctly group life, but it is a group life that does not belong to the conventional controls of the adult community. The groups and institutions which exert wholesome control in the normal community, such as the family, the school, the church, or the normal community, as the family, the school, the church, or recreation, are disorganized or inadequate to the needs of boys in this area.

The lack of attractive home life and of other effective wholesome leisure-time interests makes it inevitable that a very large proportion of the boy population from the earliest ages up spends its time on the streets. The younger boys play on the sidewalks and in the streets in their own blocks. This play takes place after school in the afternoon and, in many cases, until late at night; during vacation time, of course, it goes on all day long. The older boys from twelve years up, in addition to playing in their own blocks, are likely to range about throughout the area, visiting many different points which interest them, including the roofs of buildings, vacant buildings, the parks, the wharves and the river front, and all types of institutions of commercialized recreation. In this region New York differs from Chicago in that it has no alleys in which play and delinquency can take place. There is no lack of "hide-outs," however, and the roofs constitute an effective substitute.

Summer street play in this area is varied and active. The most popular street game, in spite of the difficulties and hazards of city traffic and interference by the police, is the universally played stickball. This is seldom played on the north and south streets which are the heavy

<sup>1</sup>Intervale is a local community in New York City in which extensive social-background studies have been carried on for the past six years by the department of educational sociology of New York University. The name Intervale is fictitious. The findings of these studies, it is hoped, will be published as monographs in the proposed Intervale Series. The first of these, by the author of this article, will be entitled, *Intervale: a Focus of Urban Pathology*.

traffic arteries, but takes place on the cross blocks (east and west), where the streets are less encumbered with transportation lines of various types and where the traffic is less constant.

In Intervale the large number of boys who by choice or necessity play in the streets creates a situation in which social interaction is intense, constant, and ubiquitous. There comes into being as a result a community of children and youths which continues and develops from year to year independently of adult groups and institutions. It is not distinguishable as a community externally, but it is a consensus of ideas, attitudes, and activities. Although influenced strongly by the local adult world, it is a milieu, a social world, separate and apart from the diverse cultures and adult social structures of this area. It is, however, the real world of the boy and the young man and, as informal education, it probably represents the most powerful set of social and moral forces which function in the development of youthful behavior patterns and personalities in this district. It is the social complex within which delinquent activities flourish and within which the delinquent personality is largely developed. An analysis of this social world and the various factors which enter into it, therefore, is essential.

The easy mobility of boys from one block to another and the congestion of population in each block make it simple for a boy to move from his old social complex to another without being recognized in the new one. He may be well known in his own block or immediate neighborhood, but may quickly achieve anonymity by going to another block or neighborhood. This loss of identity in going from one group or area to another has the virtual effect of removing any local group controls which may have been built up in the boy's home bailiwick. In contrast with this situation, it is the constancy and permanence of local social controls which, in part, explains why there is practically no juvenile delinquency in the peasant communities of Europe from which many of the residents of Intervale have migrated. The children of the self-same groups in America show high delinquency rates. In the peasant community in Europe the mobility of the child is strictly limited; he is known and he cannot achieve an anonymity which enables him to engage in disapproved activities. In America these controls have broken down and the boy, at least, is foot-loose and free to roam about and engage in the predatory practices which are so strongly suggested by his local environment.

This discussion of the anonymity and mobility which are possible in delinquency areas suggests the operation of selective factors which act both to retain and to attract criminal and underworld elements as well as to develop them. This selective influence of delinquency areas has been suggested by Donald R. Taft as a result of his study of Danville, Illinois.<sup>4</sup> Admitting that the delinquency areas in any city attract outside criminals, it seems quite likely that these outsiders also come from other delinquency areas in the same or other cities; so that we have in effect exchanges of criminals going on between delinquency areas. The

<sup>4</sup>Donald R. Taft, "Testing the Selective Influence of Areas of Delinquency," *American Journal of Sociology* (March 1933), p. 699.

delinquency area still appears to be the breeding place for criminals. Interlocking criminal activities between delinquency areas in the same city and between these areas in different cities are common.

The social contagion in Intervale which results in an intimate knowledge on the part of boys of delinquency and crime as well as the inculcation of delinquent attitudes and behavior patterns does not proceed by the method of formal precept; it is transmitted in conversation and mutual excitation as well as through participation in common activities. Delinquency is intensified by the contact of the delinquent with other delinquents and with criminals. Likewise, the nondelinquent is assimilated to delinquency through these multitudinous social contacts. The process is informal education *par excellence* and is more effective (along the lines to be indicated) than any type of formal education carried on by social institutions established for wholesome purposes.

Mutual excitation through conversation (accompanied by sense perception) is a behavior mechanism of great importance in this area. It prepares the way for action which results in delinquency. Through conversation on the streets and in the innumerable hangouts of the area, moreover, is transmitted to delinquents and nondelinquents alike a vast store of ideas, beliefs, and attitudes which condition all behavior and all efforts of social and educational agencies to deal with young people in this area. This is an important part of the daily psychic nutrition which results in the growth and organization of a personality content which eventually defines all situations for the person (the boy).

To the observer of the disorderly and ever changing street life of Intervale, the juvenile community may appear to be inchoate and amorphous. This is an external point of view. The study of case-study materials on boys of the area, records of personal interviews with participants in local life, and observations by boys who have been reared in various parts of the district indicates that there is in this area a considerable degree of organization in a sociological sense, although the patterns of organization are constantly changing. This organization is largely embodied in casual groups, play groups, street gangs, athletic teams, and social clubs, or is centered about neighborhood institutions such as the candy stores, pool rooms, and a variety of business establishments which serve as hangouts and centers of conversation.

The situation with regard to juvenile gangs in this area is almost identical with that in the gangland areas of Chicago.<sup>6</sup> No block in the area where there are many boys is without its gang and in many cases the gangs in a single heavily populated block are numerous. The life and interests of these gang boys closely parallels what was found in the Chicago study; the chief difference seems to be that the older gangs, while very powerful in Intervale, have not yet succeeded in getting so complete a control as they have in many local areas in Chicago. As in Chicago, the older gangs tend to become conventionalized into social and athletic clubs which rent storerooms as meeting places and become closely related to criminal and racketeering activities.

<sup>6</sup>See Frederic M. Thrasher, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1927), 571 pp.

*Social backgrounds.* A complicating factor for all educational programs in the American community is the number and variety of different social backgrounds which give conflicting definitions of social values. Among preliterate peoples and in simple European peasant communities cultural confusion is largely absent. There is a consistent series of social definitions which govern all human activities. In the American city, on the contrary, we find a kaleidoscopic variety of natural areas representing many diverse cultural and nationality backgrounds which do not mutually support each other in the social definitions which they are accustomed to impart to their children. A further confusion is brought about by the concurrence of many different social worlds, not ecologically defined necessarily, but **existing more or less independently in the same community.** These social worlds, although of many types, often take on the character of racial or nationality groupings. Of importance also are the occupational groupings such as those of the artist, the working classes represented by various labor organizations, the teachers, lawyers, the underworld, the *Bohemians*, and so on. *For the child there are a variety of social backgrounds which are important in defining for him (and in forming his basic knowledge about) himself and the world in which he lives, his attitudes and philosophy of life, his personality traits, and his traits of character.* Limitations of space make possible the mentioning of only a few of these backgrounds.

The play group, the gang, and the casual group of the street and its related institutions are among the most important sources of informal education for children living in the interstitial areas of our cities and towns, as well as in the so-called interstitial cities of our geographical regions. Within the interstitial or delinquency area one often finds a concentration of demoralizing influences in a circumscribed neighborhood (known popularly as a "tough section"), *on a given street, or within a social block.* Some of these areas have distinct criminalistic traditions which define social values for children of the district. It is very

important for school officials and teachers to know just where these "tough spots" are and what influences are emanating from them in order that the program of the school may be organized on a preventive basis. Yet it is unfortunately true that teachers and school officials usually have only a superficial knowledge of the neighborhoods which they serve and this knowledge is organized in terms of individual pupils rather than in sociological terms of the characteristics and needs of local groups and institutions and of the neighborhood and community as a whole.

These demoralizing influences often work themselves out, as already indicated, as forms of social contagion. The gang boy, for example, definitely acquires typical personality traits. He gets a knowledge of the technique of crime and he builds up a philosophy of life involving cynicism, disrespect for law and authority, and a certain aggressiveness and independence which make him a difficult problem for the socializing forces of the community. It is in such casual contacts and informal group association that the boy on the street often becomes inured to excitement so that it is very difficult for the school, the playground, the boys' club, or the scout troop to compete with the excitement to which he has become habituated. Such a situation creates for the educational and preventive agencies of the community a special problem which has only been dimly recognized by those responsible for these programs. The street gives no diplomas and grants no degrees, but it educates with fatal precision, and it is questionable as to whether or not the school or any other agency of formal education has yet discovered the method of coping successfully with the informal educative processes which take place during leisure-time hours.

Another important social background has grown out of the almost universal use of the automobile. It has given rise to a high degree of mobility among children and young people which is a comparatively recent phenomenon. Mobility within limited areas is a well-known fact in interstitial districts, but the automobile, so widely available to children of all social classes, has increased the range and

types of casual contacts and the opportunity for unguided group activities of young people of all ages. The uncha-peroned use of the family car has developed a particular type of group phenomenon and a consequent educational process which undoubtedly has a far-reaching effect upon the habits, attitudes, and ideals of adolescents. Recreation for young people who have access to automobiles has been greatly extended in geographical scope and in variety of types from which selection may be made. The playground for young people residing in smaller towns has become their home state or their geographical section. The local community is no longer the unit of recreational activity for large numbers of adolescents. This type of mobility means a high degree of anonymity with a consequent lessening of primary group and local community controls. A similar situation exists on a smaller scale in those highly mobile areas of congested sections of large cities where a boy may not be known outside of his own social block. The result in either case is in sharp contrast with the close control of the earlier American community or of the European peasant community, which maintains its control as long as the mobility of its members is restricted and the primary group unbroken.

Other important social backgrounds which have great significance for educational and recreational programs are the various types of commercialized recreation, including the pool room, the dance hall, the candy store, and the local eating place, which may become a center of informal education and social contagion. The pool room in congested areas in large cities has been shown to be a focus of social infection representing the point at which crime often has its genesis. The taxi-dance hall may be a source of social contagion with regard to sex information and practices. Any institution which serves as a congregating place for children may be regarded as a possible center of social contagion. From such points ideas, attitudes, and behavior patterns may be put into effective circulation.

Consider the case of the motion-picture theater as an example of an important social background representing commercialized recreation.

Its social rôle in a local community has been carefully studied in connection with the social-background studies of New York University.<sup>6</sup> As a result of this and the other Payne Fund Studies the motion picture has been revealed as one of the most potent educational forces in American life. We are not referring to the educational film, so-called, designed for classroom instruction, but to the theater film which is produced for profit because of its entertainment appeal. The average weekly audience of the American cinema is estimated as approximating 75,000,000, more than one third of whom are under twenty-one years of age. It is estimated that about 11,000,000, or 17 per cent of the total weekly movie audience of the country, are children under fourteen years of age. These children learn facts, or what they take for facts, extensively from the movies and they retain the knowledge thus acquired. While the behavior of children is affected in different ways by motion pictures depending upon their different social backgrounds and their varied personality and temperamental characteristics, it has been shown that their social attitudes are changed as a result of viewing films and that these changes are cumulative and tend to be permanent. While the effects of motion pictures upon children possessing certain types of personalities has been demonstrated, their effects upon the conduct of normal children are not so clear, especially in the field of delinquency. The carry-over from the films into mannerisms, dress, play activities, sex attitudes, and behaviors, etc., however, seems to be very great. There can be no question, therefore, but that the motion picture represented in the entertainment film is one of the most powerful educational influences in American life and constitutes a source of informal education and social contagion which deeply affects many fields of cultural transmission.

The recognition of the importance of the educative influence of motion pictures came first from the National Board of Review of Motion Pictures, which recently celebrated its twenty-fifth anniversary. For twenty-five years this organization has been occupied with a campaign to improve the public taste in pictures by selecting and recommending those films which possess recognized qualities of excellence. It has also stimulated the wider use of the motion picture in the field of visual education. Many other agencies are now occupied with the use of motion pictures of all types for recreational and educational purposes. The formation of better films committees and local councils has taken place in many communities and, in some States, there is a movement to federate these local organizations on a State-wide basis. Agencies, such as the Motion Picture Research Council, are occupied with the problems of the development of the films in the direction of greater social usefulness. The National Council of the Teachers of English is sponsoring a plan, through its Committee on Photoplay Appreciation, for the study of photoplay appreciation through English classes in high schools throughout the country. Colleges and universities are turning their attention

<sup>6</sup>The results of this study will be set forth in a volume by Paul G. Cressey and Frederic M. Thrasher, *Boys, Movies, and City Streets*. (To be published by the Macmillan Company as one of the Payne Fund Studies on Motion Pictures and Youth.)



to the problem by the introduction of courses in motion-picture appreciation and the complete study of all phases of motion pictures.<sup>6</sup> Yet, with all this activity, the professional educational world has been slow to recognize the vast potentialities of motion pictures and to relate educational programs to them.

The article by Cressey on the following pages indicates more fully the social rôle of the motion picture in a local community (Intervale). The functioning of the entertainment film as an instrument of informal education and of the moving-picture house as a social world are clearly depicted.

Among the most important of the social backgrounds which play such a vital part in the informal education of the school child are those centering around the various racial and nationality heritages transplanted into the racial colonies and immigrant areas of our cities. The very high percentages of foreign-born populations and their children in American industrial centers have created a wide variety of cultural backgrounds which color the problems of the education of children coming from these areas. Little Italy, Chinatown, and the Ghetto, which may be taken as illustrative of these numerous and contrasting social backgrounds, each have their own social values, brought to America from other lands and places and expressed in widely divergent attitudes and customs. Even within a single nationality grouping one finds wide differences in language, traditions, customs, and philosophies of life. These divergencies are well illustrated within the Italian and Jewish groups.

For the child who grows up in one of these transplanted old-world communities the definition of life and social values is necessarily somewhat confused. He is bound to acquire, however, much of the particular national culture of his old-world parents, enough to create special problems for the public schools, but not enough to assure the operation of old-world social controls. The socializing processes of the American community also fall short of achieving their complete purpose of adjustment to American standards of life and conduct. The result is, in some sense, at least, that

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<sup>6</sup>Such a course, entitled *The Motion Picture and Education*, is now being given in New York University. In 1934-1935 the New York University School of Education will offer an enlarged course on *The Motion Picture: Its Artistic, Educational, and Social Aspects*, which will deal with every phase of the motion picture.

the child of the immigrant develops into a special type of what Robert E. Park calls the "marginal man." He is not a marginal personality in the sense that he is torn between yearning for and loyalty to two distinct cultures, as may be the case when a person with intellectual antecedents is transplanted from one highly developed culture to another. He is marginal in the sense that he has experienced something of two (or more) cultures without being thoroughly assimilated to either. He may, in some sense, be regarded as the product of a mongrel culture, a picture of which in American cities is presented in the mingling of discrete and uncongenial heritages which too often represent the poorest development of American life brought in conjunction with not too high-grade importations from abroad.

These observations suggest, if they do not specify, some of the problems faced by the public schools and other educational agencies of the American community whose province it is to serve the children of these areas. Here again formal education has been slow to take cognizance of these racial and nationality backgrounds in adaptations of curricula to different needs and capacities and in procedures dealing with the classification, development, and control of children who have been subjected to these varied types of informal education.

American education has been far too standardized to deal effectively with the problems created by different social backgrounds. It has been too little interested in making factual studies on which to base changes in curricula and educational procedures. It has been too little familiar with the studies along this line that have already been made and that would throw great light upon local problems if the teacher and school administrator could be brought to apply these methods and results to local school situations. Take, for example, the monumental work of William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki on the *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*. Here is a vast treasure house of knowledge essential to any teacher or administrator who deals with Polish children or Polish communities in America. Yet it

would be interesting to know how many educators in service have ever heard of this classic study.

*Integration of social backgrounds.* A very important phase of the problem of the relationship of social backgrounds to education has been almost entirely overlooked by teachers, social and recreational workers, and others who deal in a practical way with community problems. This is the fact that in any given community no single social influence or set of influences exists in a vacuum or in isolation. It is the interrelationship and integration of different social influences that give a community or neighborhood its unique qualities and its effectiveness as a social environment for the development not of individual children but of the whole group of children in the area in question.

This weakness is clearly illustrated in the problem of community planning for the leisure-time activities of children, but in general principle these critical observations apply equally to education, religion, government, economic organization, and other departments of human activity. Outstanding exceptions seem to lie in the field of health, where community health programs have been demonstrated.<sup>7</sup>

The forte of American social agencies has lain in their ability to visualize the needs and activities of individual children. Some high standards of excellence have been achieved in behavior and guidance clinics in dealing with the social maladjustments and special problems of individual children. With some notable exceptions,<sup>8</sup> there has been little attempt to deal with the community conditions which produce maladjustments. This is in sharp contrast with the policy emphasized by the Soviet schools of concentrating upon the study and control of the social environment as well as upon the individual child (described in Lublinsky's article on the following pages).

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, *A Decade of District Health Center Pioneering*, the story of the East Harlem Health Center in a demonstration of the integration of all preventive activities in the field of health. The Health Center, throughout the entire period of its existence, has based its program on facts established by research and it has tested its results by the same method—a truly scientific procedure and one too often absent from educational and recreational programs.

<sup>8</sup>Among the exceptions are the excellent work of the Crime Prevention Bureau of the New York City Police Department under the direction of Henrietta Additon, Deputy Police Commissioner, and the crime-prevention program centering around the public school developed by Nathan Peyer, Principal of Public School 181 (Brooklyn) and now adopted by the New York City Principal's Association.

While guidance and behavior clinics have conceived the child largely in individualistic terms, they have succeeded to some extent in dealing with the whole child; that is, in treating every phase of his character and personality in their plans for his adjustment. Although they have often overlooked the total situation in which he must function, they have at least seen him as a whole. Schools and recreational agencies, on the other hand, often have not only conceived of the child in individualistic terms, that is, as if he were functioning more or less in a social vacuum, but also, to make matters worse, have seen only that particular aspect of his character and personality with which it was their function to deal. It is easy to say that one should see the whole child in the total situation but it is hard actually to accomplish the feat, for it requires study and research as well as an open mind and more than a facile desire to do homage to the latest slogans of progressive education. Even after this point is thoroughly understood, the most difficult task remains; that is, the formulation and the execution of an educational or recreational program which thoroughly recognizes the whole child and the total situation and which is based upon local factual studies prompted by such recognition. But, to proceed with our example:

A recreational program for the children of a given community, if it is to be scientifically valid, must be based upon a complete study of the leisure-time activities and needs of all children and all sections of such a community. Furthermore, and this is a prime essential, it must discover the relationship of recreational activities to other phases of community life. It must visualize, also, their proper integration with racial and nationality heritages and differences, with economic levels in the population, with occupational and religious groups, etc. Most recreational agencies have been content to pursue their particular policies in the service of their own clienteles, not neglecting the problem of harmonious relations with other institutions, but largely unaware of the problem of the real integration and articulation of their programs with the activities of other agencies in an attempt to do a well-rounded recreational job for all the children in the community. Most recreational institutions, with notable exceptions, have been pursuing individual courses, narrowed by institutional "blindness," which have prevented them from looking either to the right or the left. The result in many cases has been a high degree of institutional efficiency, but a failure of all such institutions combined in a given area to do a good piece of recre-

ational work for the whole community. The weakness obviously lies in a failure to visualize the total community situation and in the absence of community organization in any real sense.

The concrete results of this situation in a given community are disturbing. One sees hundreds and often thousands of children entirely missed by recreational agencies and often these children are those who are most in need of organized leisure-time activities. They are missed because they are nobody's responsibility. No agency knows how many children of different ages there actually are on a given block and to what extent their leisure-time needs are being provided for. The agencies usually take as participants the children who come to them either spontaneously or as a result of special membership drives. In either case many are lost. The percentages of children who drop out of recreational programs are surprisingly large, and the extent to which they go from one agency to another without ever getting the benefits of permanent connections with any is great. One of the reasons for excessive turnover is the absence of a coöperative community approach to the problem of recreational organization.

Not only in children missed and children lost do the ill effects of the lack of recreational planning on a community basis arise, but also in the uneconomic use of recreational facilities. We have the spectacle of long lines of boys waiting to use gymnasium facilities with other gymnasiums not too far away entirely unused at the same hour. We have thousands of children playing in crowded traffic streets with the facilities of a near-by park or playground practically unused. We have little used streets which could easily be roped off as play streets; yet children near by are playing stickball in the midst of constant traffic hazards. We have city-owned vacant lots lying idle and unsightly in congested areas having a dearth of outdoor recreational facilities. We have school buildings, schoolrooms, and school recreational facilities in congested areas or in districts with no recreational facilities closed to children after three o'clock in the afternoon, on Saturdays, Sundays, holidays, and in vacation time; for the lack of some one to supervise after school or vacation activities or for the lack of the modest sum which would be required to make such facilities available. We have excellent recreational facilities curtailing their services or closing up on Sundays, holidays, and during the summer vacation when children are most likely to be subjected to the demoralizing influences of the streets. Who knows the recreational resources of a given neighborhood or community? Who can advise a child in need of or in search of a leisure-time program as to how he can plan to spend his leisure hours in a wholesome and interesting way? There is no one in the community, for the most part, who has either the facts or the experience to perform this type of much needed service. *We suggest a sociologically trained recreational adviser for every school.*

The type of research necessary to bring together the facts upon which to base a scientific community leisure-time program is illustrated in the study of Hatterstown by John Fox, who has reported on some phases of his investigation in an article appearing in the following pages. After researches have been made, however, there still remains the problem

f educating the community and the agencies themselves to the point of modifying wasteful individualistic policies and uniting in a cooperative effort to formulate a comprehensive community program dictated by the facts. The human-nature obstacles to the realization of this ideal cannot be brushed aside lightly, to be sure, but constructive imagination which proceeds upon a very sound basis of facts will go far towards solving the problem.

A growing recognition of a certain degree of failure in reaching the boy on the local block has led some of the more progressive recreational agencies to attempt to go to the boy, rather than to entice the boy to come to the building. With characteristic vision Greenwich House, one of the pioneering social settlements of New York City, has led the way in the development of a block recreational plan in an attempt to deal with the leisure-time needs of the boy in his local block. This program is briefly described in an article by Frank Kaplan on the following pages. A somewhat analogous effort to organize recreation on the local block is described by Abraham Goldfeld in one of the following articles, dealing with the "penny-game-room" experiment. Goldfeld has visualized the future housing development as including building plans for facilities for specific recreational activities, and his approach gains added significance in the light of the movement in New York City and elsewhere for public and private projects for slum clearance.

All these studies have far-reaching significance for the public schools. Lublinsky in the following article indicates how the studies of social backgrounds and informal education have been approached and developed by the educational program of the Soviet Union. The study of the social backgrounds of school children is well developed in Bulgaria where a specialized chair in this subject has been established in the University. In the United States a wealth of material is already available to students of social backgrounds, but most of the studies undertaken in this country have been made without any definite educational aims. A number of exploratory studies of social backgrounds of the school and the school child are now under way in New York University. They include studies of the Upper East Side, Middle East Side, and Lower West Side\* of Manhattan (New York City), and studies of suburban communities including Millburn and Madison, New Jersey, Darien, Connecticut, and Hastings-on-Hudson, New York. These pioneering studies are being made with particular emphasis upon the applicability of their findings to educational problems.

\*A brief description of the Lower West Side Study is to be found in this issue of *THE JOURNAL*, pp. 516-520.

## SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS OF SCHOOL CHILDREN IN SOVIET RUSSIA

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The interest in the study of social backgrounds of school children in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is a direct reflection of the Marxian theory, which forms the base of Soviet pedagogy. This theory regards the personality as a product of the dialectic interaction between the changing social conditions, varying under the influence of the development of productive powers and the growth of the individual self, actively influencing its environment. During recent years the methods of study of this interaction have been subjected to attentive investigation and research in Soviet pedagogical literature.

There are two ways of approaching such a study. The first is conditioned by the mere practical needs of school practice. The second expresses an attempt to get knowledge of the factors determining informal education of children out of school, simultaneously with the course of formal school education. This extraschool influence of the social environment is often termed as the "great pedagogical process," in contrast with the deliberate school instruction directed by the thoroughly elaborated curricula.

The first type of investigation of social environment is carried on in the Soviet school practice for the following purposes:

1. At the time of school enrollment and in the beginning of every subsequent school year, a small questionnaire is distributed among the school children, including questions concerning the social status, kind of professional work, amount of wages or the income of both parents, and the number of family members of the school child. This questionnaire, after being answered by the parents and duly certified, is used as a base of rude classification of children in regard to their social and economical situation.

2. The children of the economically less prosperous or indigent parents have, according to the Soviet laws, the privilege of getting special support from the school in the form of gratuitous school luncheons, textbooks, and other auxiliary school-teaching material; these children are entitled to free garments, shoes, tramway tickets, etc. At every school is formed a Contributory Board, consisting of the parents of children elected to the board, school teachers and representatives of social organizations, which meets every few weeks. This board collects the money, which provides the support for the children in need. The members of the board investigate every case to verify the real economical conditions of the child's home, applying the technique of investigation usually accepted by welfare organizations.

3. All school children, at regular intervals of one or two years, are examined by the school doctor and medical commissions for prophylactic purposes. Those children who are retarded in their physical growth or who have symptoms of social diseases or suffer from malnutrition are also investigated by a school nurse, who visits their homes, studies the conditions of their home life and social environment from the point of view of social hygiene, and makes a plan for their improvement.

4. So-called Stations for Children's Protection have been formed recently in every school in Leningrad, Moscow, and other principal cities. The task of those newly formed institutions is<sup>1</sup> (a) to discover and investigate truant or problem children, (b) to organize supervision and special educational guidance for them and their families, (c) to supervise mass pedagogical work of parent education, (d) to develop different forms of extraclass and extraschool activities and recreations for children, (e) to organize prophylactic action in combating juvenile delinquency and street gangs in the town district to which the school belongs.

Every Children's Protective Station is made up of a chairman who also is the director of educational work in

<sup>1</sup>All the child-welfare organizations in the U. S. S. R. are now merged into a general All Russian Society of Friends of Children, which has thousands of local branches.



the school, several school pedagogical workers, two or three teachers, the supervisor of extraclass work, representatives of the Society of the Friends of Children, several members of the Young Communists' League, the district inspector of child protection, and several delegates of main industrial factories in the district of the school. The station workers investigate the individual cases of truancy, delinquency, school maladjustment, etc., using the case-study method. They also make surveys and special investigations of the vicinity of the school, discovering the hang-outs of boys' gangs, suspected houses of prostitution, saloons, the character of commercialized recreational establishments, cinemas, etc., frequented by the children of the area. In studying the individual (problem) child, the investigation usually must discover and state the social and work attitudes of the members of the child's family, their economic and cultural level, mutual relations and types of conflict of the family members and the child, the character of home education and supervision, etc. In making surveys of the town district, maps marking the places where special attention of child-welfare organizations or child-protective workers is needed are made. An attempt is then made to liquidate so-called "herds" of juvenile delinquency by planned social and pedagogical action. The services of the station may be grouped in the following classifications:

- a) Educational, medical, and "societal" action, in relation to the *child*
- b) General support for the child's *family* (social support, supervision, parent education, compulsory medical treatment, administrative control and judicial proceedings)

- c) Supervision of the *school* (improvement of school supervision and individual work, elimination of the different defects in the school, which sometimes produce bad conduct and negative attitudes in school children)

- d) Supervision of *extraschool* activities of children (organization of playgrounds, boys' and girls' clubs, good recreational opportunities, prolongation of the school day, etc.)

- e) Planning measures of general improvement of the *district* (liquidation of the vice and crime herds, anti-alcoholism campaigns, extermination of old primitive family customs, such as treating the wife and children as domestic slaves, etc.)

5. Children of elementary-school age who are to be transferred to special classes or schools because of inferior mental ability or bad conduct must be previously examined in

the Institute of Children's Study or in the city pedagogical laboratories. A special social worker, a member of the institutional staff, makes a study of the children's home conditions and social environment in the past and present, in order to discover the factors conditioning such mental inferiority or lack of discipline. A special history is filed in every such case.

6. The next kind of practical investigation of social environment in the Soviet schools is an investigation conducted in connection with the vocational guidance of pupils. This investigation is a part of a vocational-guidance program, the purpose of which is to discover vocational tendencies and attitudes of the youth. The social part of this program contains the description of the main interests, social and professional traits of the pupil; a description of the social, cultural, and vocational history of the members of his family; special data of importance for the child's professional choice; the character of his friends and mates in the school, etc. All these data are collected by means of a detailed questionnaire, answered by the subject under an investigator's supervision, by interviews with his parents, and by findings of different vocational tests.

7. A thorough social investigation, as a rule, is also conducted in the case of juvenile delinquents (not attending school) previous to the hearing of their cases before the Minors' Commissions, which replaced the former system of children's courts, modeled after the American pattern.<sup>2</sup> These investigations are made by a special officer of the Commission, called investigating educator, who is very similar to the American probation officer, the only difference being that the investigating educator is a member of the Minors' Commission and takes part in the final deliberation

<sup>2</sup>Minors' Commissions were introduced in Soviet Russia soon after the October Revolution in the beginning of the year 1918. Since that time the laws governing their constitution and function were modified, and now they are regulated by an act of July 11, 1931. According to this law, the staff of the Commission consists of an experienced pedagogical worker as a president, a physician especially connected with the children's institutions, a justice of the People's Court (American district judge), one or several investigating educators, and representatives of the Society of Friends of Children, Young Communists' League, and the local Council of Trade Unions. The Commission is competent to hear and determine all cases of children below sixteen years of age. The Commission applies only measures of medico-pedagogical character; imprisonment cannot be discerned. This commission is also a local center of child protection in every city or town.

of medico-pedagogical measures adopted for the child. If the boy or the girl attends school the investigation usually is made by one of the members of the Children's Protective Station. The investigating educators investigate also all criminal cases in which the health, the security, and the sexual integrity of children are involved, as, for instance, cases of cruelty to children, desertion of children, sex offenses against children, etc.

I shall not describe the technique of investigation of social or home environment used in the above mentioned practical situations because the technique is analogous to that used in the United States in similar cases. I only wish to mention that the attention of the social investigator usually is directed not so much to material attributes of the home or neighborhood of the child as to his interaction with other persons and with members of his family particularly.

A much more complex and difficult problem is presented by the study of the social environment of the school child for purposes of modifying the "large social environment," which informally educates the child. Our educational scientists do not consider such environment as something hardened or unchangeable like the hereditary traits of a man. On the contrary, they think that the "large social environment" can be changed by conscious and deliberate intervention of human activities, carried on not only by means of legislative acts or administrative control, but mainly by educational and cultural influences exercised on the different classes of the population, which are carriers of certain traditional, social conceptions, beliefs, habits, and behavior attitudes. In the pedagogical literature of Soviet Russia, one can find even a special term "environmental pedagogy," which supposes that the social environment, like a pupil himself, may be educationally influenced by deliberate and effective methods.

In order to influence the social environment, however, one must begin with studying it just as one studies the individual who is to be educated. Mere statistical methods—methods of mass quantitative measurements—cannot be

irectly used because the components of the social environment do not have physical characteristics and until now they have not been precisely defined. It is necessary, therefore, to make, in the first place, an analysis of different social units (such as a family, group, corporation, town, village, etc.) from the point of view of their characteristic traits and elements. In the second place, it is necessary to make a qualitative evaluation of different types of social units and their elements according to their eventual effects on the social development and social conduct of an individual who lives in such environment. Finally, the student must learn how to make appropriate combinations and sum up these environmental values to simplify the too large quantity of these distinct denominators of social environment.

In the Soviet literature there are several essays which try to construct "the profile" of social environment, analogous to the profiles used for the summary of pedagogical data on children. Lack of space does not allow me to give even a short summary of these essays. I shall give only a brief account of the scheme, as described in my book on this question, published a few years ago.<sup>3</sup>

The social environment educating the child is like a child itself; it is always in the process of continuous growth. This environment gradually becomes a field of larger and more complicated social connections. To the age of two to three years, the child's development proceeds exclusively in its home or family circle. All social attitudes and connections of the child are conditioned by the character of its parents and kindred. This type of influence usually continues during the whole period of its immaturity. After the age of three years, however, the family home circle usually is supplemented by a new, small circle of the child's playmates (child's play circle). The shared play activity of the little boy helps him to develop certain emotional attitudes to the other little people's actions and the regular response to different play situations. In subsequent years this play circle becomes larger, the mode of activities

<sup>3</sup>P. Lublinsky, *Methods of the Social Investigation of Children* (Leningrad 1929).

changes, and the boy learns what we call the fair-play spirit in his partnership activity.

During the preschool age the boy gradually enters into the new social circle of the grown-up people, who visit his home or with whom he becomes acquainted during his visits or short interviews outside the home (neighborhood) circle. The new social connections give him a certain orientation in the larger social environment, composed of the people surrounding his family and the families of his playmates. The boy begins to compare the different social conditions, social standards, customs, and manners, thus making his first steps in social evaluation.

With school enlistment the child enters into the new circle of teachers and class comrades. Life and work in the school give him the opportunity to know the meaning of different social conceptions. He rationalizes his social reactions, develops the idea of social duty, fixes the habits of teamwork, acquires the knowledge of a social life far beyond his neighborhood in the past and in the present time. The school is an ordered child's community.

During the first years of adolescence (about twelve to thirteen), the boy enters a small, newly formed group of his pals or personal friends. This closed collective is a separate group having its own commonly shared interests, aims, and standards, different from and sometimes opposed to home and school standards. This little group, which under bad influence easily degenerates into the gang, is normally a station of social experimentation for the boys, where they form anew their social attitudes and values. *The practice of such a group (or the pals circle) is a mighty determinant of the social conduct of boys and girls in the early adolescent years.*

At the age of fifteen to sixteen years or later, according to local social conditions, the boy enters a professional or manual work life or apprenticeship; in other words, he is now in the circle of grown-up working people where he acquires the essential professional skills and habits.

We may, therefore, differentiate social backgrounds of the child, dividing them into six main life circles: (1)

mily home; (2) playmates; (3) neighborhood; (4) school life; (5) pals group; (6) professional or work relations. Every such circle has a double function: (1) formative or educational, inasmuch as it contributes to the development and the growth of certain socially relevant psychological and behavioristic attitudes and qualities, and (2) protective, inasmuch as it affords to the growing child the needed care and protection against the dangerous and harmful influences and disorderly life. The social value of each role is determined, therefore, by the grade of its educational or formative efficiency and by its protective capacity. The moments which strengthen and enlarge these social functions of the environment are positive values, and the moments which deform or destroy them are negative ones. This criterion gives the possibility of evaluating every component of the social environment in the whole and of each role particularly. The widely accepted method of evaluation consists of a scheme of standardized descriptions of different types and levels, marked by points, from 1 to 5 or every important characteristic trait. Using a special letter for the denomination of each trait, one can make a short formula of the social backgrounds of every child. Certainly this formula will not give the whole picture, but it can signalize to the teacher or social worker feeble points of the social environment where educational or protective reinforcement or radical changes are needed. This scheme also allows us to give the genetic characteristics of different strata of social environment in the life of the child.

The scientific study of social backgrounds of school children was entirely unknown in the prerevolutionary times in Russia, and even now it is still in the stage of experimentation. The number of mass surveys, scientifically planned, is not large. Russian pedagogical thought is faced now with the need of improving methods of teaching in the schools in connection with the tremendous increase of the number of schools and pupils under the régime of general compulsory education. This need has dominated all scientific research in education in the last years.

## LEISURE-TIME SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS IN A SUBURBAN COMMUNITY

JOHN F. FOX

What is the status of the school child's leisure time in the small-town suburban community? Leisure time, for the purpose of this study, is defined as that waking time spent outside of the following necessary activities: sleeping, eating, personal care, home duties, homework, time in school, paid employment, and transportation to work and school. Leisure interests are considered to be those expressions of preferences and activities in which the child indulges in his leisure time-activities, "just because he wants to."

Sociologists say the behavior of the child is affected by many situations—the family, school, playground, movies, gangs, and scouts. This means that there are educational processes outside the formal program of the public school. If this is true, a study of the child within this congeries of situations is essential. Such a study should help to bring a visualization of educational problems in terms of the needs and activities of the whole community.

*Problem.* The problem as set forth in this study is to discover how the suburban children of Hatterstown<sup>1</sup> Borough spend their leisure time in their usual school, play, and work environment; what the influences playing upon them are; whether there are significant differences caused by the biological facts of sex and age; and whether the sociological facts of nationality, socio-economic status (as indicated by parent's occupation and place of residence), home duties, grade in school, and religion play a part in the child's choice of leisure activities. A description of the borough follows:

The Borough of Hatterstown is a decentralized residential suburb of 10,000 persons; one of the hundreds of smaller towns and cities in the area dominated by the metropolises of Warsaw and Munich, which, are respectively, eight and twenty miles away. Because of its proximity to these cities and because of excellent railroad connections, the borough underwent a complete transformation when the commuters began to

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<sup>1</sup>The names of localities are disguised.

ook for suitable home sites within daily traveling distance of the cities.

As late as 1900, the center of Hatterstown was devoted almost entirely to the manufacturing of hats, and the residents and their homes were typical of a mill town. Now the factories are gone and the chief business of the borough is largely that of providing comfortable suburban homes for the successful Warsaw and Munich professional and business men who have become well established. It is a realm of consumption rather than production, of play and leisure in contrast with the work and business of Warsaw and Munich.

Following the big increase of population which came after the World War, the borough has become differentiated into natural areas filled with social cliques, people who consider themselves on different social planes. The Mountain Grove people established their private social club, became a homogeneous community of "social registerites," and the inhabitants received much social prestige through residence there. The old Mountain Grove pioneers have become alarmed at the repeated invasion of new real-estate developments and have set up social barriers, which the newcomers have found impossible to penetrate.

The transformation from the old village to the modern suburb might easily have been the work of a magician, for there are now present within the borough's limits bits of practically all of the social levels of Warsaw and Munich. The range extends from a "Little Italy" in old Hatterstown to the homes of the "400" in Mountain Grove. Falling between the two extremes are representatives of the intervening classes usually found in only the largest of cities.

Disregarding social barriers, residents usually think of the borough as having three major residential divisions, approaching homogeneity, and, for the purpose of simplifying the study all of the old and recent developments were lumped into three groups, described as follows:

Mountain Grove: This is the "ritzy" section of the borough and is peopled largely by wealthy Warsaw and Munich business men, politicians, public officials, lawyers, and scientific research men whose names are familiar in metropolitan circles. Mountain Grove has the distinction of being rated as one of the ultrafashionable suburbs of Warsaw and Munich.

Linden Bluff: Here are the homes of Warsaw and Munich minor executives, and research and clerical workers whose salaries range from \$4,000 to \$10,000.

Old Hatterstown: Since this was the first residential section in the borough, one finds the descendants of the old settlers living there. Other groups making their homes in this area because of the cheaper land values and rentals are the municipal employees, lower salaried workers, local merchants, the Italians, and a few commuters.

There are few customs that are common at once to Mountain Grove, Linden Bluff, and Hatterstown, and one will perhaps seek a long time before he finds any common views which hold the population of the various sections of the borough together in any common purpose. Consequently, in the study of the leisure interests of the children, they were divided into three groups, according to the place of residence of their parents.



*Method.* The method used to obtain information about leisure-time interests and activities as they are reflected in everyday experiences was a careful adaptation of the diary form, closely modeled after that used by Janet Fowler Nelson in the recent Y. W. C. A. leisure-time study.<sup>2</sup> The following paragraphs briefly describe the schedules used:

1. Basic background data serving to define the groups under consideration and to facilitate control of important factors; i.e., age, grade, sex, nationality, religion, economic status of parents, and place of residence within the borough (the latter implying social strata).

2. For collecting data as to time spent in each activity a time-diary record in half-hour units was filled in by the selected children for three full days—school day (Friday), Saturday, and Sunday. All activities were recorded in the diary form from the time of getting up in the morning until going to bed at night. Regarding the value of the diary, Miss Nelson says, "Although it is admittedly a meager sample of any one individual's time, nevertheless, in terms of the group, it is probably a more true picture of the division of a day into school, work, and play hours and how those hours are actually spent than innumerable questionnaires would or could ever elicit."<sup>3</sup>

*Sampling.* Schedule questionnaires were distributed to 530 children, the actual number of students in the selected grades. Three hundred and seventy-two, or 70.2 per cent of the total population of these grades, were completed. To achieve a representative sample of the school children that would have all the significant characteristics of the total township school population, in their relative proportions, selection was made at regular intervals.

A preliminary study showed that children below the sixth grade were not capable of doing a good job on the diaries, consequently all the school children of the borough in the sixth, eighth, tenth, and twelfth grades were selected to fill in the diary forms. These groups represented all of the sixth grades in the borough's four public elementary schools and its three private schools; the eighth-grade selection included the three private schools and the middle group in Hatterstown Junior High School, which contains the seventh, eighth, and ninth grades. All of the high-school students in the borough attend Hatterstown Public High School, and schedules were distributed to all of the students

<sup>2</sup>This particular technique is known for its reliability in giving relatively accurate information on spare-time activities and is in contrast with several less exact techniques.

<sup>3</sup>Janet Fowler Nelson, *Summary of Report on Leisure Time Study*, Y. W. C. A., New York City, 1933, p. 4.

n the tenth and twelfth grades.

*Basic groups.* In setting up this analysis of leisure-activity material, it was necessary first to determine the basic groups involved for purposes of description and comparison.

Since the primary considerations were the leisure-time influences playing upon the boys and girls of the township's schools, the groups were automatically divided into sex and grade divisions for the junior and senior high school. For the sixth-grade groups, it was possible to further classify them in three additional groups according to the place of residence of their parents. The leisure-time interests of the children as reflected by the section of the borough in which they live furnish the most interesting part of the study. The leisure interests were studied in terms of their incidence in the three natural areas, Mountain Grove, Linden Bluff, and Old Hatterstown, into which the borough was divided as approaching homogeneity regarding the socio-economic status of the parents, in terms of the various school grades, and in boys' groups versus girl groups. This gives a total of twelve different groups which act as controls upon each other.

Only a few suggestive results of this study of leisure-time backgrounds can be presented here. The completed study will be available eventually.

*Most popular sports.* In analyzing results, it is reasonable to assume that the sports taught by the school and by the municipal playground should head the list. The startling discovery, however, is made that fourteen of the first twenty sports in popularity are not taught by the school. Most of the school-taught sports used in interscholastic contests, such as basketball, football, track, baseball, and soccer, are recognized as having no carry-over value to later life whatever. In surveying the results, it is evident that the above sports should not constitute the major athletic activities of the school program, but activities such as tennis, golf, swimming, handball, volleyball, horseshoes, bowling, and skating should be encouraged because the pupils can engage in them after leaving school.

Only six of the first twenty in popularity are team games. Baseball, basketball, football, soccer, field hockey, and volleyball rank 1, 3, 5, 6, 9, and 19, respectively. The other fourteen are individual activities with swimming and tennis ranking second and fourth among the entire group.

Difficulties were met in properly classifying the activities listed on the diaries, for it seemed as though these children did everything. After tabulating several completed diaries, it was found that the groups defined tended to do certain things at certain times, e.g., sleeping, eating, going to school, walking home, playing the radio, etc.; consequently, the following headings were used to classify the activities:

*Necessary Activities*

Sleeping	Transportation to school and work
Personal service	Time spent in school
Eating	Homework
Home duties	Work outside of home

*Leisure Activities*

Magazines and books	Nothing—loafing
Dancing	Bicycle riding
Radio	Roller skating
Leisure transportation	Horseback riding
Singing and playing instruments	Stayed after school
Newspapers	Hobbies
Resting	Spontaneous outdoor play <sup>1</sup>
Club and scout meetings	Spontaneous indoor play <sup>2</sup>
Attending athletic contests	Indoor quiet organized play <sup>3</sup>
Visiting and entertaining	Highly organized outdoor play <sup>4</sup>
Automobile riding	Indoor active organized play <sup>5</sup>
Hiking	Talked with family
Walking—strolling	Letter writing
Movies	Fashion show
Religious activities	

An analysis of the 372 diaries showing the manner in which the 24 hours of the day are distributed; the actual amount of time devoted to the various necessary activities; and the amount of time devoted to the various necessary

<sup>1</sup>For the purpose of classifying all physical-recreation activities, the investigator devised five divisions, as follows:

DEFINITIONS

1. *Spontaneous outdoor play.* Outdoor play having no rules; imaginative play, such as playing in the yard, down by the brook
2. *Spontaneous indoor play.* Indoor play having no rules; imaginative play, as playing with dolls, dressing up
3. *Indoor active organized play.* Indoor games requiring physical activity and formal equipment, as ping pong, bowling, and basketball
4. *Indoor quiet organized play.* Indoor games with set rules and equipment, as checkers, parcheesi, bagatelle, and card games
5. *Highly organized outdoor play.* Outdoor active team games with standardized rules and equipment, as football and baseball

activities; and the amount of time left for leisure have been selected as the initial approach to the problem.

The following table presents an analysis of a school day (Friday), work day (Saturday), and Sunday in the above terms for the entire group.

*An Analysis of an Average Twenty-Four Hour School Day, Saturday, and Sunday for the Total Group*

<i>Activity</i>	<i>Friday Hours Minutes</i>	<i>Saturday Hours Minutes</i>	<i>Sunday Hours Minutes</i>
1	2	3	4
Sleeping .....	9.00	10.10	10.21
Time in school .....	5.26	....	....
Eating .....	1.45	1.39	1.47
Personal service .....	1.06	1.20	.59
Transportation to school and work .....	.46	.02	.01
Homework .....	.24	.20	.41
Home duties .....	.31	1.35	.41
Work outside home .....	.12	.32	.16
No record .....	.07	.12	.09
Leisure .....	4.43	8.13	9.05

When a comparison is made of the control groups, the following conclusions are reached:

1. Sleep: a) Children sleep less as they get older.

b) Boys and girls sleep about the same amount.

2. Eating: There is no difference in the amount of time spent in eating except on Sundays when the Old Hatterstown children averaged 20 to 25 minutes longer than Mountain Grove and Linden Bluff children. Sunday dinner is the big meal of the week for the Italians, who form 50 per cent of the population of Old Hatterstown, and much time is spent by the family in eating it. On Sunday, there seems to be a tendency for the children, as they get older, to spend more time eating.

3. Personal service:

a) There is noted a consistent tendency, as the socio-economic status of the parents rises, for the children to spend more time on such activities as bathing, care of the nails, brushing the teeth, and combing the hair. For example, the children of Old Hatterstown spend less time than the children from Linden Bluff, and the latter, in turn, spend less than the children from Mountain Grove.

b) The older the child and the more advanced in school, the more time is spent in personal care.

c) Saturday must be bath day, for more time is spent on personal care than on Friday or Sunday.

d) Girls spend slightly more time on this activity than boys.

4. Home duties:

a) As one would expect, the Old Hatterstown children have more home responsibility and do more work around the home than do their wealthier cousins in Linden Bluff and Mountain Grove.

- b) As children get older, they help more in the care of the home.
- c) Girls do from two to three times as much work around the house as the boys.
- 5. Homework: The older the student and the further advanced in school, the more time is spent in studying at home.
- 6. Work outside of home:
  - a) The children who work for wages are pretty well concentrated in the Old Hatterstown section, where they are forced by economic necessity to seek outside employment.
  - b) Most of the paid work was done by boys, who served as golf caddies.
- 7. Time reserved for leisure:
  - a) More time spent in home duties and work outside of home causes the children of poor parents to have from ten to thirty per cent less leisure time than the children of Linden Bluff and Mountain Grove.
  - b) Boys have more leisure time than girls due to the latter spending more time on personal service and home duties.

In considering the manner in which the children spent their leisure time in terms of per cent of each group participating on the combined three days, the following conclusions are reached:

*Rank Order and Comparison of the Most Frequent Leisure-Time Activities Between the Boys and Girls' Groups in Terms of Per Cent Reporting Them on Saturday*

Activity 1	Boys 2	Girls 3	Actual Difference 4	P. E. Difference 5	Critical Ratio 6
Leisure transportation.....	60.0	71.1	11.1	3.6	1.64
Magazines and books.....	38.3	44.2	5.9	3.6	.72
Radio.....	37.8	40.4	2.6	3.4	5.79
Visiting and entertaining.....	23.0	49.6	19.7	3.4	1.26
Movies.....	23.8	29.5	4.3	3.4	.058
Newspapers.....	30.6	30.8	.2	3.4	3.27
Spontaneous outdoor play.....	33.0	23.1	10.8	2.9	.76
Indoor quiet organized play.....	18.3	20.0	2.2	2.7	1.67
Walking—strolling.....	12.8	17.3	4.5	2.5	5.60
Singing and playing instruments..	7.2	21.2	14.0	2.5	.2
Nothing—loafing.....	13.3	12.8	.5	2.5	.17
Automobile riding.....	11.1	11.5	.4	2.3	1.23
Hobbies.....	11.7	9.0	2.7	2.2	5.48
Highly organized outdoor play...	16.1	1.3	14.8	3.3	2.74
Spontaneous indoor play.....	4.4	9.6	5.2	3.3	1.11
Dancing.....	4.4	8.3	3.9	1.9	5.53
Bicycle riding.....	7.2	5.1	2.1	1.6	1.53
Indoor active organized games...	8.9	.6	8.3	1.3	2.15
Talked with family.....	2.8	5.1	2.3	1.3	2.38
Club and scout meeting.....	1.7	4.5	2.8	1.3	1.63
Resting.....	4.4	1.3	3.1	.8	
Religious activities.....	.6	1.9	1.3		

1. *Reading.* Next to physical play, which was given five subdivisions, the reading of magazines, books, and newspapers was the most important of all activities for school children. Because of the very different nature of type of reading, it was further classified into two divisions, one for the reading of magazines and books and the other for newspapers.

a) *Magazines and books.* Girls read more of this type of literature than do boys. There is a slight increase in interest as the grade advances. One would probably be justified from the community sixth-

grade results in saying that, as socio-economic levels of the parents rise, there is a tendency for their sixth-grade children to read more magazines and books.

b) *Newspapers.* There is a slight average difference in favor of the boys over the girls in the reading of newspapers. Although the tendency is not consistent on all days, children of wealthier parents tend to read more newspapers. This is not true on Sunday, which is probably due to many of the Old Hatterstown parents taking a Sunday paper while they don't take a daily.

2. *Radio.* From the number who reported listening to the radio, its importance is revealed as a medium of passing time for the children of people with small incomes. On a school day, more people listened to the radio than participated in any single activity, except combined reading and physical play in its various forms. It was second only to the reading of magazines and books on Saturday, while on Sunday it was led by newspaper reading and religious activities. There seems to be no significant difference between the age, sex, or economic status groups in the per cent participating.

3. *Movies.* According to the sample, the boys attend slightly more than do the girls. Children from the more exclusive areas go to the movies more on week days, but the order is reversed on Sunday.

4. *Spontaneous outdoor play.* The results are largely in favor of the boys as against the girls. Among the community groups the odds are not so overwhelming, but one is probably justified in saying that children from poorer homes are more prone to play outdoors in this manner than their wealthier cousins.

5. *Spontaneous indoor play.* Girls are more likely than boys, according to the results, to participate in this type of play indoors. The tendencies are not consistent among the community groups.

6. *Highly organized outdoor play.* The differences are probably large enough to justify one in saying that, given any two normal groups of boys and girls, the former will always participate more than the latter in this type of play. As the community gets wealthier, there is a tendency for their sixth-grade children to play fewer highly organized games. The three days produced the same result. Children from Old Hatterstown always played more, with Linden Bluff next, and Mountain Grove last.

7. *Indoor quiet organized play.* There is a slight tendency for the girls always to lead the boys in percentage engaging in this type of play. Community comparisons show that children on the average from better class homes participate more in games of this type.

8. *Indoor active organized play.* The boys more than the girls seem to prefer active games indoors. The community differences are not significant.

9. *Strolling—walking.* As a recreation activity, walking seems to appeal to girls more than boys. An analysis by community reveals no significant tendencies.

10. *Club and scout meetings.* Although the results are not conclusive,

over the boys in such social activities within the home. The tendency among communities seems to be for the children of the better class homes to do more visiting and entertaining.

12. *Automobile riding.* The difference between the boys and girls is not significant. As one would naturally expect, the children coming from wealthier homes are able to ride more in automobiles.

13. *Hobbies.* The boys have more hobbies than girls. There seems to be a tendency for the children of Linden Bluff to have more hobbies than Mountain Grove and Old Hatterstown children. This is probably due to so many engineer fathers who, in pursuing their own hobbies around the home, make it easy for the children to follow them.

14. *Dancing.* This form of recreation prevails much more among sixth graders in homes of well-to-do families.

In considering the *average amount of time spent* by group averages in the more popular twenty-nine leisure activities, these activities were classified into eleven crude major divisions:

Outdoor Recreation	Radio
Spontaneous outdoor play	Reading
Highly organized outdoor play	Magazines and books
Hiking	Newspapers
Walking	Club and scout meetings
Bicycling	Trips
Roller skating	Leisure transportation
Horseback riding	Automobile riding
Indoor Recreation	Visiting or entertaining
Spontaneous indoor play	Talked with family
Indoor active organized play	Movies
Indoor quiet organized play	Music
Letter writing	Singing or playing an instrument
Stayed after school	Religious activities
Fashion show	Lounging
Dancing	Resting
Attending athletic contests	Loafing
Hobbies	

A sample table for the boys' and girls' groups on Friday is given below.

Leisure Activities	Boys			Girls			Total		
	Average Time	Per Cent of Day	Per Cent of Leisure	Average Time	Per Cent of Day	Per Cent of Leisure	Average Time	Per Cent of Day	Per Cent of Leisure
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Radio.....	54.9	3.8	18.5	45.9	3.2	15.9	50.7	3.5	17.8
Outdoor recreation	49.9	3.5	17.1	36.4	2.5	13.2	42.4	2.9	14.7
Music.....	43.5	3.0	14.6	33.0	2.3	12.2	39.0	2.7	13.7
Reading.....	38.4	2.7	13.2	48.3	3.4	18.0	42.9	3.0	15.2
Indoor recreation..	32.1	2.2	10.7	29.4	2.0	10.5	30.9	2.1	10.7
Trips.....	26.4	1.8	8.8	25.2	1.8	9.5	24.6	1.7	8.6
Club-scout meeting	20.7	1.4	6.8	1.2	.08	.4	11.7	.8	4.1
Visited or entertained.....	19.2	1.3	6.3	30.6	2.1	11.1	24.3	1.7	8.6
Movies.....	4.8	.3	1.5	12.9	.9	4.8	8.7	.5	3.1
Lounging.....	3.6	.3	1.5	3.3	.2	1.1	3.6	.3	1.5
Religious activity..	2.7	.2	1.0	6.6	.5	2.6	4.5	.3	1.6
Total leisure....	4:55.2	20.6	100.	4:32.4	18.9	100.	4:43.3	19.7	100.

It is not possible to discuss all of the activities; consequently, the partial treatment of only one major classification, Outdoor Recreation, will be presented here.

*Outdoor recreation.* It is interesting to find that of the number participating in outdoor recreation on Friday, the sixth-grade community groups spent a much larger average amount of time than did the upper grades. It was the most important activity for the younger children in calling for sustained attention, but it was outranked by both reading and radio in the upper grades. The greatest difference was shown between Linden Bluff sixth graders and the high-school seniors, the former spending an average of 1 hour and 39 minutes, or 33.5 per cent of their total leisure, while the senior average was only five minutes, or 2.1 per cent of their leisure in outdoor recreation on Friday.

The boys averaged 49.9 minutes outdoors while the girls averaged only 35.4 minutes.

On Saturday, the trend was in the same direction between the younger and older children. The total leisure increased approximately four hours for all groups, and much of this was spent in outdoor recreation. The largest difference was between the Mountain Grove sixth graders, who spent 3 hours and 2 minutes in this manner or 34.6 per cent of their total leisure and the high-school seniors who played outdoors an average of only 44.4 minutes or 8.9 per cent of their leisure.

One would expect the number of boys playing outdoors to average more time per individual than the girls, and they did. The time for boys was 2 hours 46.5 minutes as against 56.3 minutes for girls.

The community sixth-grade groups spent approximately the same average amount of time on Sunday playing outdoors. As the grade rose the individuals averaged less time; e.g., Linden Bluff sixth grade spent 2 hours and 45 minutes, and the seniors 32.4 minutes.

The boys averaged 1 hour 44.7 minutes while the girls averaged only 1 hour 6.5 minutes.

*Ecological method.* A method used to advantage in the study is that which has been designated by sociologists as *ecological*; a study of society in its distributive aspects.

A base map was prepared for the Borough of Hatterstown showing the geographic distribution of various types of social facts in relation to their backgrounds and to each other. Various types of data were spotted on the maps showing graphic correlations between social facts. In the study of Hatterstown, the preparation of the base map proved invaluable both in delimiting and describing the area served by the public-recreation facilities and in suggesting explanations arising in the course of the investigation.

*Case-study method.* The study of the leisure-time social backgrounds of the children of Hatterstown gains greatly



in significance because eventually it will be thrown against the larger background of a complete case study of the total community. This community study has employed sociological methods analagous to those exemplified in the work of Lynds,<sup>5</sup> Blumenthal,<sup>6</sup> Shaw and McKay,<sup>7</sup> Thrasher,<sup>8</sup> and Glick.<sup>9</sup> An understanding of the significance of leisure-time backgrounds also implies a study of their relationships to the larger cultural complexes involved in the metropolitan area, the region, the section (of the country), and in the nation as a whole.

The case-study method is also indispensable in this investigation to illuminate the statistical trends suggested above and to indicate their significance in relation to the educational problems of individual children. To this end, case studies of various types of children are being prepared to fill out the total picture.

The implications for education of this type of study, although space is lacking here for their discussions or even enumeration, are far-reaching and suggest themselves in wide variety to students of educational and recreational problems.

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<sup>5</sup>Robert S. Lynd, *Middletown* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), x+650 pp.  
<sup>6</sup>Albert Blumenthal, *Small Town Stuff* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1932), xvii+416 pp.

<sup>7</sup>*Social Factors in Juvenile Delinquency* (Washington, D. C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1931), 401 pp.

<sup>8</sup>*Delinquents: A Focus of Urban Pathology* (to be published).

<sup>9</sup>*Winnetka* (to be published).

## THE MOTION PICTURE AS INFORMAL EDUCATION

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Among the major activities and social forces which impinge upon the life of the school child, there are few which have, even upon superficial examination, the opportunity for influence which the commercial cinema possesses. The average time spent by the city child in attending the movie would alone seem to suggest the cinema's potential influence. In the effort of Dale<sup>1</sup> to establish an approximation of the national cinema attendance by children and young people, he reached the conclusion that in the United States even young children from five to eight years of age now attend on the average of twenty-two times a year, and that the attendance rate of children and young people from eight to nineteen years of age makes it possible to say that a movie a week is the cinema diet for the younger members of our American society.

In the research upon motion pictures and boy life, which is at this time being completed at New York University under the directorship of Professor Thrasher, it was found that in an interstitial area in Manhattan the approximate average estimated attendance for boys from twelve to sixteen years of age was 83.4 visits a year, or 1.6 visits per week. If even the time per visit spent by the child in the motion-picture theater is restricted to two hours, it would seem that the boys in this interstitial area spend in theaters at least 166.8 hours a year. Since most children are known to remain frequently for a second showing of the photoplay it is a conservative estimate that they spend annually at least a fifth as much time at the cinema as in attending school. Nor is extensive movie attendance restricted to the

<sup>1</sup>Edgar Dale, *Children's Attendance at Motion Pictures* (to be published by The Macmillan Company this year).

city children of interstitial areas. Although considerable statistical evidence supports the hypothesis that the highest rate of child attendance is to be found in areas of maximum congestion and poverty, it would be incorrect to assume that cinema attendance is not now a well-nigh universal practice of all classes of children and young people in our American cities.

At the same time, the opportunity to go to the movies is regarded almost universally by both children and parents as the child's natural right. Frequently, children with the tacit support of many adults have attempted to justify their truancy, their insubordination towards strict parents, and even their petty stealing by claiming that these were the only ways by which they could "see the show." For adolescents, "going to the movies" is not only a means for self-instruction in love making, dress, and etiquette but also is a step in courtship almost universally accepted.

For adults as well the motion picture is increasingly becoming an accepted part of their round of life; cinema attendance may have very different meanings for various individuals, yet for most the screen is in some way an integral part of their lives. Inescapable, then, is the conclusion that the cinema is not only an established institution in American communities but that "going to the movies" is rapidly becoming an American folkway as well.

The great frequency of cinema attendance by children and young people is not without its important educational effect. The motion-picture industry is clearly of that group of quasi-educational enterprises whose business by the very nature of things cannot be regarded solely from the point of view of private profit. Though organized commercially to "sell" entertainment, the motion-picture industry dispenses a great deal of informal education—general information, patterns, and not a little in the way of standards and personal ideals. That such is true cannot now be disputed. The recently published works of Blumer, Blumer and Hauser, Dale, Holaday and Stoddard, Peters, Peterson and Thurstone, to mention but a partial list of the

contributions to the Payne Fund Studies,<sup>2</sup> afford ample evidence that when the child or youth goes to the movies he acquires from the experience much more than entertainment. General information concerning realms of life of which the individual does not have other knowledge, specific information and suggestions concerning fields of immediate personal interest, techniques of crime, methods of avoiding detection, and of escape from the law, as well as countless techniques for gaining special favors and for interesting the opposite sex in oneself are among the educational contributions of entertainment films. To be included, also, are the schemes of life, the aesthetic standards, and the personal ideals and values which are presented upon the screen and which under special circumstances, chiefly a certain few characteristic social situations, become significantly a part of the life patterns of these young people.

It should be carefully noted, however, that what is adopted from the films by children and young people is by no means uniform as to extent or content. What is taken over depends on a variety of conditioning factors, important among which are the character, temperament, and personality of the child and the nature of his varied social backgrounds represented in racial and nationality heritages, economic and occupational levels, religious experiences, and community traditions.

The educational importance of the motion picture for childhood and youth can be understood in part by reference to certain characteristics of childhood and of the cinema art. Foremost, perhaps, though so obvious that it has eluded attention, is the fact that the child and youth is at the most receptive age, is able more effectively than at any other time to assimilate in whole cloth what is presented upon the screen. He does not yet possess fully the capacity for "adult discount," he does not yet have the background by which to discredit sufficiently some motion-picture representations of life. While research findings show that what

<sup>2</sup>From the Motion Pictures and Youth Series, The Macmillan Company.

the child or youth perceives, remembers, and later utilizes from his photoplays is not at all what most adults would at first surmise, the fact remains that the young person, because of his immaturity, is very often more receptive to screen stimuli than are adults.

A second element making for the educational force of the commercial cinema is the fact that it can now benefit from its many years of experience in the production and exhibiting of films especially attractive to the immature mind and to the child. Responding constantly to reports from the box office, the motion-picture industry has been able to discover a wide variety in types of films which are financially profitable to produce and which attract quite varied audiences. Though very probably without intent and without any special pedagogical preconceptions, the motion-picture industry has actually followed the practice of producing photoplays for those of widely different cultural heritages and of varying stages of intellectual maturity. For the small children, the cinema today supplies the animated cartoon, the slapstick comedy, the animal picture, and is, in fact, beginning to build up an independent cinematic nursery lore. For those a little older, it offers the standardized cowboy or "western" film and the "episode" picture or serial, in which hero and heroine pass melodramatically through a long series of perilous and highly improbable adventures. Later the "mystery" thriller and the photoplays depicting spectacular scenes of warfare and aviation may have an especial appeal, often to be followed in turn by the "sports" pictures and by the murder and gangster films. With the growth of new interests during adolescence, the photoplay depicting love and romance and the sophisticated society picture take on meaning. These are sometimes followed by an interest in the historical drama, the travelogue, and even by an interest in the photoplay presenting a psychological or philosophical problem. For very nearly all mental ages, whatever may be the individual's chronological age, the cinema is prepared to offer attractive, interesting films. Further, in contrast to the typical public-

school system, another educational agency of major importance, the cinema's influence is not restricted in the main to children and youth who are within the ages of compulsory school laws. Through its wide range of offerings, even though moralists may doubt the influence upon character of certain photoplays, the cinema provides a diet which in part is definitely attuned to the interest and mental growth of the child, and so facilitates its own educational contribution.

The cinema, in the third place, is able through its mechanical and technical facilities to present in dynamic, living form scenes which readily appear to the child as replicas of life itself, based upon actual life situations. Made attractive and interest compelling by every device of plot, action, scenery, and acting, the photoplay possesses unique pedagogical advantages. It can command attention through the fact that it is "telling a story," an instructional advantage recognized even in early use of folklore and parables. By the portrayal upon the screen of life situations, which seem only more gripping than those the child himself usually experiences, the photoplay can readily confer upon its subject matter a sense of validity and definiteness not so easily obtained, perhaps, by any other method of communication or instruction. Further, the unified life situations presented in the photoplay afford a greater facility for the child of ordinary antecedents to associate himself more intimately with the life situations and characters portrayed upon the screen than is possible through a more formal agency or institution.

Herein is to be found an important aspect of the educational rôle of the cinema. The cinema is almost unique among the agencies in a community in that it presents what are interpreted as unified segments of life. Consider by contrast the conventional school. Sanctioned in public opinion and with the force of the truant officer behind it, the traditional public school has been able to continue even though, from the point of view and experience of the typical school child, it may often have seemed a disjunctive and a

repressive agent. Presenting logical, unified compartments of knowledge, which, however, may not represent at all the way in which this same information might come to have meaning for the child, the public school has often been able to continue and to gain strength because it was not forced to look to its own students for support. The cinema, however, in order to survive commercially has been forced to adapt itself constantly to the immediate interests of patrons. In its programs and its advertising the cinema has found it necessary to discover the basic human motives and wishes and to produce photoplays and advertising appeals by constant reference to these dynamics. As a result, children and adults as well have, by projecting themselves into the activities and interests of the screen characters, inadvertently contacted a psychological element by which the information and general knowledge incidental to the plot could readily be seen to have meaning and could, therefore, be easily retained. In contrast to the traditional school, where motivation in learning arises extraneously, primarily through the teacher's special efforts and skill, the cinema provides for many children a means, vicariously at least, by which learning may really be a natural result of interest and activity.

A fourth factor in the educational rôle of the commercial cinema can be seen in the circumstances under which the child or youth attends. At the motion-picture theater attendance is voluntary; the individual need see only those photoplays which seem to him to be interesting and valuable. Since it is usually from the youthful patron's own funds that he is spending, of which in most cases he does not feel he has too much, there is very naturally an effort to secure the most for his money in the satisfaction of *immediate interests*. These circumstances in turn, no doubt, contribute to the individual's receptivity at the cinema; and, in contrast with the traditional public-school system in which there is a minimum of opportunity for individualization in instruction, it is significant to note the opportunity for individual initiative and choice in self-education afforded

at the cinema. Important, also, is the relative freedom from restraint in the theater, and its physical setting contributing to maximum attention. The child, seated in a comfortable chair, and so placed that the 'only point of bright illumination, the animated fascinating screen, is immediately before him, is in a position to attain a high degree of concentration and learning.

Finally, the prestige of the movie stars in the child's own play world and in the urban community itself, even as much as the prestige in which they are held when seen upon the screen, contributes also to the educational influence of the cinema. On every hand the city child meets this screen world. Even though he may not attend the cinema the urban youth is constantly exposed to ideas, patterns, and suggestions which have their origin in Hollywood. If the child plays with others his games are most certainly to include "cowboys and Indians," "cops and robbers"; and, very probably, he will be expected to make the American Indian's smoke signals, as was shown in the previous week's edition of a movie serial, or to throw a lasso in the manner seen in a recent "western." The nicknames of his playmates very often include the names of movie stars or of the characters which they have portrayed. The city child is exposed to garish billboards, lobby displays, and handbills telling of forthcoming attractions in the local theaters. For a penny he may weigh himself, and on the reverse side of the card upon which his weight is printed, he may find a photograph of a movie star; from an adjoining slot machine he may obtain chewing gum endorsed by a Hollywood child star. Even his favored candy or soft drink may have endorsement by a movie star. For a few cents he can buy a fascinating photograph of an actress, or, for a penny, may secure a paper stencil by which he can tattoo upon his person a picture of his favorite actress.

Returning home the city youth finds in the daily newspaper at least a page devoted to advertisements and news items concerning theater offerings and the doings of the



stars. Turning on the radio he may enjoy a "Half Hour in Hollywood" or may listen to any one of over two hundred popular songs which have been introduced through recent musical productions. The youth, like his sister who can now equip herself from head to toe in clothing especially endorsed by actresses or modeled after clothes worn in recent photoplays, may set out upon a similar mission, buying his hats, shirts, ties, sweaters, suits, and overcoat from among those endorsed by movie actors or fashioned according to a special design popularized by them.

In a variety of ways, through the screen, through the play world of childhood, and through countless commercial devices Hollywood has in one way or another become intimately associated with some of the most vital interests and activities of childhood and youth. Tom Mix, Hoot Gibson, Harold Lloyd, James Cagney, Edward G. Robinson, and George Raft, to mention but a few from the list of favorites furnished by the boys and young men studied in the New York University research, have far greater prestige and, in the activities and thought of these young people, in many cases mean far more than do all the local political, educational, and social leaders whose activities have direct bearing upon their lives.

The full significance of the cinema, however, cannot be seen except by reference to the specific social backgrounds of each individual. Only as it is possible to see the motion picture's impressions in terms of his own cultural heritages, his own dominant interests and values, and his own *axeological world* can we begin to see adequately what any photoplay may mean for a spectator. In fact, much confusion in the past over the problem of the cinema's influence upon children has arisen because of the failure to see the motion picture in terms of the total social background of the individual. By reference to an interstitial community in New York City in which a great deal was known of boy life through the Boys' Club Study of New York University, the research on motion-picture influence now being completed has been able to see the cinema in this community

in terms of its social rôle. From the broader perspective upon each case which this approach makes possible, it appears that there are certain special social situations in which the cinema can be seen to have a much greater influence than in others.

Among these special situations, few stand out as of such importance as the period of adolescence, during which the youth's sensitiveness, self-consciousness, and social uncertainty facilitate his receptivity to the cinema. For such young people the motion picture's portrayal of attractive adults of both sexes provides a ready basis for the acquisition of personality patterns, standards of dress and conduct, and even philosophies and schemes of life. In the following stenographically recorded interview, which is but one illustration of a great amount of case material which could be offered if space permitted, an adolescent youth in New York City indicates the way in which the screen and its portrayals have become a part of himself:

Q. These notions of going after women, where did you get them?

A. Yes, that has been a specialty of mine.

Q. Yes, I know, but where?

A. A lot from the movies and a lot from experience.

Q. What sort of thing from the movies?

A. Never chase after women; let them chase you, show that you are intelligent and leave them. Personality, be dynamic, never humble yourself before them. Of course, I've done that too.

Q. Is that where human nature slips in?

A. Yes, you can't pass that up, you have to humble yourself sometimes.

Q. Certain pictures (you say) give you those ideas?

A. A lot of pictures. George Raft is a typical example. Warren William is a good example, John Barrymore is a perfect example; you never see them chasing them (the women). I have taken the ideas of these big stars. I have never been interested in these younger stars. They are not mature, they are silly. Ronald Colman in *Cynara*; I have seen a great deal of them. I see the way he does not give the girl a tumble. He does not give them a tumble, they go after him. Clark Gable has given me an inspiration.

Q. How?

A. I like his manner of speaking lines, you know that mannishness. "How do you do?" Just like that, sweep them off their feet. . . .

Q. This idea of being suave about it all, where did you get that idea?

A. I have always wanted to be that way.

Q. Do you remember the first time?

A. John Barrymore a long time ago gave me that idea, he has been in the movies quite a while.

Q. What was the name of the picture?

A. I think it was *Don Juan*. Ever since then I wanted to be the perfect-lover type. I got the dark eyes. Usually lovers have dark eyes. Husbands have blue eyes, I have been compared to a few. One girl thought I looked like George O'Brien. Another thought I looked like Fredric March. I went to a dance once and one cute little girl kept calling me Gary Cooper. . . .

Another social situation in which the cinema would seem to have an exceedingly great influence is that in which the American-born child of immigrant parents feels a conflict within himself between the old-world patterns inculcated and sponsored by his parents and the standards to which he is exposed in his contacts at school, on the job, and on the playgrounds, and which he often thinks of as "American." Especially where the other agencies and institutions in a young person's life do not adapt themselves adequately to his psychological and cultural situation, the cinema may very well be, and, in fact, often is, the refuge to which the individual goes to discover that which he considers is really "American." His preference as to actors and photoplays, as well as his adoption of standards and patterns of behavior which he sees on the screen, reveal subtly but effectively the way in which he identifies himself with the actors and characters seen upon the screen.

In an interstitial community with relatively high delinquency rates, and in which the child and youth on the street are exposed to contradictory patterns of life, it is clear also that a photoplay which by some chance "strikes fire" with a certain individual may be, for the time, a paramount influence in his life. Thus, a few outstanding gangster characters in the photoplays of recent years have been found to have exerted a very great influence over certain boys and young men. In a few instances, the entire personality of certain individuals has seemed to change as a result of seeing certain gangster pictures. But in these cases it is really a combination of many factors which contributes to their exceptional receptivity to the screen. It should be noted that it is the presence in certain photoplays of a gripping

portrayal of specific human interests, activities, or values closely associated with the major dynamics in the subject's own life and his own community backgrounds which make it possible for them to "strike fire." Thus, photoplays involving crime and gangs may be expected to have a greater appeal to certain boys in a high delinquency area than to others in the same area or to boys residing on Park Avenue or Riverside Drive. Because they do relate themselves so intimately to the personal problems of such individuals, living in a social milieu affording an opportunity for a maximum range of choice in conduct, and because they possess the special validity and prestige accredited to the screen, the photoplays under these circumstances, and under these circumstances only, may become a definite and immediate factor in conduct.

In a social situation of the above type the cinema may exert its influence upon receptive individuals in many ways. It may contribute not only a knowledge of techniques of crime, extortion, and seduction, but it may furnish suggestions which eventuate in conduct. In the same way, a delinquent may on occasion find in certain photoplays schemes of life and values by which he may formulate more definitely his own philosophy of life and his own life pattern. These conclusions are based upon extensive researches.<sup>4</sup>

The relationship of the commercial cinema to the school and to educational policies, in the light of the new data which are now available, has yet to be determined. With the educational contribution of the commercial motion picture not yet recognized in the thought of most educators, it would be impossible to expect that school programs and the practices of teachers would yet have been modified in relationship to the cinema. For the most part, the incipient attitude of school and teacher has probably been one of antagonism. Actually, the cinema is here to stay and it is well that the school adopt a more enlightened attitude towards it. It is interesting that in a high school

<sup>4</sup>These data will be available in a book by Paul G. Cressey and Frederic M. Thrasher, *Boys, Morals, and City Streets* (to be published by The Macmillan Company).

in an eastern city, where the teacher of a trade course recently reversed her official attitude and allowed her girl students to introduce pertinent comments regarding movie actresses, and even permitted a judicious use of the fan magazines, a marked improvement in classroom morale and in the interest of the students resulted.

In the beauty-culture course the girls were continually bringing in movie magazines which they read surreptitiously at every chance I gave them. One girl, whose family I knew were receiving public relief, nevertheless felt she too must have her movie magazines and must be able to go weekly to the neighborhood theater. I even had to punish some of the girls for reading the magazines when they should have been studying.

Later one day I happened to see a picture of an actress which illustrated a coiffure about which I was speaking. This was the beginning of a new policy. I found that a discussion of the hairdress of actresses aided greatly in interesting the girls. Today there is a much better morale in the group and a much more cordial attitude towards me.<sup>4</sup>

This is but one illustration of countless ways by which the school, in its policies and practices, could recognize and adjust its program to a situation which already exists. It is also possible for the school, through motion-picture appreciation courses and other ways, to exert a positive influence in the child's selection and response to photoplays. The developing movement for "Better Films Committees" in local communities requires integration with school programs. The wider use of motion pictures in school programs and as aids in visual instruction represents a tremendous field for educational advance and coördination.

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<sup>4</sup>Interview with trade-school teacher.

## EXPERIMENTS IN INFORMAL EDUCATION

### I. BLOCK RECREATION PROJECT

FRANK KAPLAN

Little Red School House, New York City

To relate the story of the Block Recreational Project, we must go further back than its beginning to a time (September 1930) when a group of undergraduate and graduate college students invaded the Greenwich Village district of New York in search of sociological material on the younger and older boy in a changing, urban environment. These students plunged into the neighborhood, joined settlement and street gangs, played games, attended church and parties, etc., all this to view their subjects in the different phases of their life's activities by participating in them.

Gangs of boys were found who, although in close proximity to a social center (parish, evening-school playground, neighborhood house) were still lounging on corners and getting into trouble. Organized boys' clubs and settlement houses were active, but were few and far between. Rather than walk ten or more blocks to such centers, most boys preferred to stay within their own block limits and join a predatory gang. To join a neighborhood house (which in reality was not their own) "and to be bossed and told what to do and what not to do," all this did not appeal to them. What was to be done with this type of boy who was not being attracted or reached by these wholesome recreational activities?

"Bring the recreational facilities to the boy on his own block," some one said. Things happen fast when an idea like this is born. These gangs were approached on their own blocks and with little or no financial backing they were encouraged to set up clubhouses of their own.

Clubrooms were found in empty stores, basements, damaged buildings, etc., which local real-estate agents allowed the boys to use during unoccupancy rather than see them destroyed as they surely would be if allowed to remain

vacant too long. Older boys, residing in the immediate vicinity, were put in charge as club leaders, given training in leadership, and paid a small sum to ensure responsibility.

Work was immediately begun. Walls were repaired, papered, and painted. Ceilings were washed. Most extraordinary furnishings were dragged in, but the boys were satisfied. All this was achieved at an insignificant cost, for local painters and paper hangers cooperated by giving the boys remnants of paint and wallpaper, while friendly neighbors gave them furniture, the boys making everything else themselves.

The boys assumed all responsibility for their own places, trying all sorts of expedients to maintain them. To this end, they showed motion pictures to their younger brothers and sisters for the price of two cents. When this device failed to raise enough money for the electricity, heat, and repair bills, they set up a boxing ring in their backyard, and on warm days arranged boxing matches for a small admission fee. And, indeed, it was not unusual to have both father and mother attend the motion-picture show and boxing contest.

Nor was the job of raising money to support the clubhouse their only responsibility. For the first time they saw the value of maintaining a block and community reputation. For a club member to get in trouble with any authorities would undoubtedly mean the loss of their meeting place. The club had to be repaired and cleaned daily. When materials or equipment had to be bought, the boys did the buying. Circumstances did not permit any loafing. You couldn't just sit around and do nothing in these centers. Game rooms had to be set up and permission for various activities, such as basketball, swimming, etc., had to be obtained from some local institutions having recreational facilities. Membership meant active participation and cooperation.

One cannot fully appreciate the enthusiasm with which the boys made use of these centers. Each gang had a clubroom in which it could tinker to its heart's content.

Each member could, and did, keep in it his bicycle or his fondest pets and treasures, all of which were thrown out by "Ma." He could build airplanes or play cards. He was not forced into any program which was deemed by outsiders to be valuable for him, but he could follow, entirely unconscious of the guidance of his leader, interests which were vitally important to him. Any activity which he did as a duty was forced upon him by the accepted and natural pressure of his own group, which he accepted willingly as a member. In short, the clubroom was built around the boy and his gang, meeting his needs and desires and not handicapped by any rigid program or organization.

Moreover, the neighborhood authorities were in sympathy with the movement. It pleased the real-estate agents, since the boys, by taking care of their own property, began to show a respect for the other persons' property. Police and crime-prevention authorities praised it, not only because there were fewer complaints, but also because it attracted a type of boy who had proved to be a considerable nuisance to the neighbors. The boy himself could appreciate the difference of attitude of the corner cops who, instead of constantly menacing him and chasing him, dropped in occasionally to warm up and perhaps tinker with the radio and talk over other problems.

The officials of the settlement house welcomed the block clubroom because it supplemented their work by giving them feelers into outlying sections and attracting a type of boy whom they could not reach. Probation authorities saw in it a much-needed method of attracting into organized and supervised recreational activities those delinquent boys who had appeared before a court. It especially appealed to the parents of these boys who belonged to the club, since the close proximity of a clubroom enabled them to account for their son's time and actions.

Even though the Block Recreational Project has not been active this year, during its two-year period of experimentation it made great strides over the more conventional clubwork set-up and program. The block clubroom set-up



offers a far greater flexibility in adapting a program to the needs and desires of a gang of boys. Here are not buildings constructed twenty years ago for needs at that time. A clubroom can be turned into a shop, gameroom, or so changed as to meet the desires of the group. You may, if you wish, even paint on the walls. This is no rigid organization where programs are fitted to the building instead of to the boys.

Here provision is made for a boy's world, not a boy's world dictated by a group of uncomprehending adults. Provision is made for places which the city boy can call his own and where he can do as he pleases under wholesome auspices, where there is as much an opportunity for the development of his own initiative as self-expression, of self-responsibility as group responsibility, of individuality as well as coöperation. Not a theoretical parental interest, but a practical one is instituted since all clubwork is under the scrutiny of the parents themselves.

Such a clubroom inevitably gives rise to practical situations which necessitate a recognition of community standards and requirements and a growing ability to adapt one's activities to these requirements. The assumption by the boys of the solution of their own problems and also of the maintenance of a block and community reputation makes civic education real, practical, and spontaneous. Enough practical experience is furnished for the development of a constructive, as opposed to destructive, attitude towards personal and private property. Little attention is paid to individual behavior problems, but more to the setting up of purposeful situations, experiences, and activities.

A successful carrying out of the plan has by no means been attained. Its problems are still many. The acquisition of a suitable local leadership which must devote a good deal of time is still troublesome. The presentation of an activities program which embodies all the principles of progressive education by a group of local leaders is no easy task. Inducements of all sorts must be offered. The experimental attitude, therefore, continues to be maintained

as to the activities and organization of the block recreational program.

## II. THE PENNY GAME ROOM

ABRAHAM GOLDFELD

Director, Lavanburg Home Foundation, New York City

The Penny Game Room idea originated about three years ago when the Lavanburg Foundation, organized for the promotion of better housing, remodeled a tenement house in a squalid, crowded, Italian section on the Lower East Side. Since there were vacant stores in the building, it was decided to use two of them for recreational purposes for the children of the neighborhood.

A cursory study of the recreational facilities in the vicinity disclosed the fact that most settlements were not accessible and that few offered activities to the children under fourteen years of age. It meant that the children of this age group must shift for themselves and spend their evenings either in the dull, overcrowded tenement flats or on the streets which are full of opportunities for adventure. These escapades, while frequently harmless at the onset, often lead to antisocial behavior. It is for this group that the Game Room was organized.

At the official opening on November 15, 1931, eighty-eight children appeared. However, the news spread rapidly and the second night brought one hundred and twenty-five boys and girls. Since the capacity of the two combined stores holds at the maximum about seventy-five persons, this caused considerable confusion; games such as checkers and dominos disappeared, tables were overthrown, and window-panes were broken. In order to overcome this problem, it was decided to operate the Game Room three nights a week for boys and three nights for girls. This arrangement has worked satisfactorily for the past three years.

The boys and girls were very unruly and difficult to handle at first and it was necessary to enlist the coöperation of the Crime Prevention Bureau officers to assist in

handling the problem. It was learned that a good many of the boys attending the Game Room were on probation for some delinquency. Gradually, the group was won over by organizing the boys into a club and treating some of them individually. Since the opening of the Game Room many of the boys have outgrown the activities and a number of them have been contacted with Clark House, the neighborhood settlement. Some of them continue to visit the Game Room, however, to assist in supervising the younger boys.

The Game Rooms are equipped with ping-pong tables, carom, checkers, dominoes, a pool table, mats for wrestling, and two baskets for basketball throwing. There is one trained worker in charge who is assisted by two tenants of the house. The cost of the original equipment and supervision from November 15, 1931, to May 31, 1932, amounted to \$475.96 and the income from penny admissions to \$71.98. In 1933, \$71.27 was spent on equipment and supplies, \$240 on supervision, and \$50.93 was received in admissions.

Due to limited space, the boys' activities are rather meager and the attendance is not as large as that of the girls. At the latter's request, cooking, arts and crafts, and a social club have been organized. The girls have made such articles as berets, pillow tops, scarfs, handbags, and pot holders, and on two occasions have prepared macaroni dinners. During these periods, conversation flows freely and the girls become quite confidential and discuss their personal problems with the leader. In several instances this had led to adjustments of their individual difficulties.

Because of the interest of the boys in active sports, they have been divided up into teams for basketball, and the gymnasium of a neighborhood public school is used once a week for practice and competitive games with other teams.

Our experience of three years has proved that the children are interested in a center of this type to such an extent that they are willing to part with a penny each time

they attend. Their interest is not a temporary one, since most of them have been coming regularly since the Game Room opened. Although the older boys are introduced to other settlements when they outgrow our activities, the little ones supply new material to work with. The set-up is different from the one organized on the Lower West Side and described in preceding paragraphs by Kaplan in that it works with children on an individual basis. That is, children come in not as a gang or a club but as individual members. The advantage of this arrangement is that at no time will a whole group abandon the recreational center leaving the rooms and equipment unused. Recreational workers in settlement houses have had the experience of a whole group of boys leaving the settlement at the same time due to some reason such as difficulty with the leader or dissatisfaction with rules.

The most outstanding characteristic of the Penny Game Room is that it is so easily set up and dissolved. The cost of operating is very low and it can be established within a short time where there are a large number of children for whom no provision for recreation is available.

## RESEARCH PROJECTS AND METHODS IN EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

*In order that this section of THE JOURNAL may be of the greatest possible service, its readers are urged to send at once to the editor of this department titles—and where possible descriptions—of current research projects now in process in educational sociology and also those projects in kindred fields of interest to educational sociology. Correspondence upon proposed projects and methods will be welcomed.*

### THE SOCIAL BACKGROUNDS FOR EDUCATION IN A GIVEN URBAN AREA<sup>1</sup>

Education has more or less drifted along, following classical and traditional lines with only sporadic and feeble efforts to bring it into harmony with social conditions and the needs arising out of such conditions. The thesis is advanced that it is necessary (1) to know intimately the material backgrounds of social organization in which education functions; (2) to discover the detailed facts of the backgrounds and programs of institutions and organizations of various kinds which affect education; and (3) to make a careful analysis of social interaction and public opinion which affect and determine the forms that the educational program shall take. The Lower West Side Study attempts to accomplish in part the first of these objectives with the stated purpose of making clear three contributions: (1) the complex background of the urban area chosen, (2) detailed data which will be useful to individuals, institutions, and organizations which function in the area, and (3) a test of existing theory regarding urban social interaction with the possibility of correcting or adding to such knowledge.

The area of this study, the Lower West Side of Manhattan, New York City, was chosen because of the wide variety of forms of social organization found there and represented in factory and warehouse areas, the financial center, the waterfront, tenement and restricted residence sections, the so-called Bohemian life with its local color affecting growth and change, and an interesting historical background which conditions

<sup>1</sup>The following statement has been provided by C. G. Swanson, director of the Lower West Side Study.

the previously named factors. This area is a triangle bounded on the north by Fourteenth Street, on the east by Broadway, and on the southwest by the Hudson River.

The data as gathered and presented are divided into three parts. The first of these parts deals with matters distinctly objective and material in nature. After a review of the history of the area, the population is analyzed as to nationality, age, sex, income, distribution, location, and distributive shifts. This is followed by an analysis of land and real-estate values and changes, after which a brief review of business is presented. The matter of housing is taken up in some detail with an analysis of the number and distribution of "old-law" residences, "new-law" residences, private dwellings, renovated residences, and rooming houses. Rental data is included in this study and an attempt is made to classify multiple-dwellings according to existing facilities in relation to rent per room. This is followed by an analysis of transportation facilities, with a diagrammatic presentation of the service areas of rapid-transit facilities.

The second part of the study includes first an analysis of recreational activities, particularly a study of playgrounds, where service areas and facilities are presented in graphic form. A section is included on the child's social world, attempting to present further data on the new concept of the child as a person, organizing his own social world to provide otherwise nonexistent satisfactions. This is followed by an analysis of delinquency and crime, particularly in two fields; namely, juvenile delinquency and a statistical study of prostitution. The material on education, which follows, includes two parts; first, an analysis of the child population according to the school-census records and, second, a study of schools and other existing agencies of education with an evaluation of their programs and suggestions for change. Another section is added on the local color of Greenwich Village, with an analysis of the Bohemian group and its effects on the area. The final portion of the second part of the study is an attempt to divide the whole area into its most important natural areas, with maps of each, showing outstanding characteristics.

The third and final part of this investigation is concerned mainly with summary and conclusions, particularly as related to the school and other agencies promoting educational activities.

This whole study is based upon a social base map which was first developed and is conceived as being the basis of the whole study although it occupies but small space in the finished report. This map, which is 26 by 45 inches in size, includes data showing the outline of census tracts; factory, business, and residential areas; street numbers; types of buildings by number in each residential block; transportation facilities; important centers, such as buildings, institutions,

parks, etc.; population by blocks; business addresses of major professions; and nationality areas.

### *A Social Background Data Sheet<sup>2</sup>*

There is a definite need for a simple and short scale to find the socio-economic status of pupils. Often a research study may have socio-economic status as one of its factors that needs to be measured and controlled. For example, socio-economic status as measured by either the Sims scale or the scale here described correlated .53 with the scores for personal and social adjustment on the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet.<sup>3</sup> The Sims scores for socio-economic status correlated —.49 with school-deception tests and —.31 with home-deception tests, and .51 with the Burdick Apperception Test for measuring cultural aspects of the home background.<sup>4</sup> The functional relationships between these factors have important implications.

The Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status<sup>5</sup> has undoubtedly been one of the most widely used scales for securing an index of selected economic and social factors in the home background. The Social Background Data Sheet is much shorter and easier to administer than the Sims Score Card, and its scores correlate .90 with the scores of the Sims Score Card. Hence it has been tentatively assumed to be as reliable as the Sims Score Card.

The data sheet and key for scoring, so far as they have been adapted at the present time, follow:

#### SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

(*Grades 4 to 12*)

Name..... Age..... School.....

1. a) What is your father's occupation (what does he do to earn a living when he is employed)?

<sup>2</sup>This statement has been provided by J. Wayne Wrightstone, Institute of School Experimentation, Teachers College, Columbia University.

<sup>3</sup>J. W. Wrightstone, "Validity of the Woodworth-Mathews Personal Data Sheet for Diagnosing Certain Personality Disorders," *Journal of Educational Psychology*, XXV (January 1934), p. 43.

<sup>4</sup>H. Hartshorne, and M. A. May, *Studies in Deceit* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1928), p. 228.

<sup>5</sup>Vernon Martin Sims, *The Measurement of Socio-Economic Status* (Bloomington, Illinois: Public School Publishing Company, 1928), 33 pp.

- b) Does he have a title (such as president, manager, boss, etc.) at his place of work? What title?
- c) Of how many persons is he boss or manager?
2. a) Give the total number of persons actually living in your home including brothers, sisters, parents, friends, or boarders.
- b) How many rooms, not counting bathroom or basement, are there in your home?
3. a) Do you have a radio in your home?
- b) Do you have a piano in your home?
- c) Do you have a library of the following number of books in your home? Underline the number nearest correct: 50 books, 100 books, 200 books, 300 books, 400 books, more than 400 books.
- d) Does your family have an automobile?
- e) Do you have a telephone in your home?

## KEY FOR SCORING SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

## 1. Father's occupation

Professional (architects, authors, doctors, lawyers, engineers, etc.) 40 points

Commercial (accountants, agents, teachers, small business of 5 to 10 men) 30 points

Small proprietor (foreman, small business of 1 to 5 men) 20 points

Skilled worker (barber, clerk, etc., small shop owner) 10 points

Unskilled worker (common labor, domestics) 0 points

## 2. Home

Note the number of brothers and sisters given. Add three to this number. This is the number of people in the family. Note the number of rooms in the house. Divide this by the number of persons in the home (carry to one decimal) and convert the ratio into scores as follows:

*Rooms in Home Divided by Persons in Home*

Less than .4—0 points

.4 through .9—10 points

1.0 through 1.5—20 points

1.6 through 2.1—30 points

2.2 through higher—40 points

TABLE I  
RATIO OF PERSONS TO ROOMS  
*Social Background Data Sheet*

Number of Persons in House	Number of Rooms in House											
	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	
2	1.00	1.50	2.00	2.50	3.00	3.50	4.00	4.50	5.00	5.50	6.00	
3	.60	1.00	1.33	1.66	2.00	2.33	2.66	3.00	3.33	3.66	4.00	
4	.50	.75	1.00	1.25	1.50	1.75	2.00	2.25	2.50	2.75	3.00	
5	.40	.60	.80	1.00	1.20	1.40	1.60	1.80	2.00	2.20	2.40	
6	.33	.50	.60	.84	1.00	1.12	1.33	1.50	1.66	1.81	2.00	
7	.30	.43	.60	.71	.86	1.00	1.14	1.28	1.43	1.60	1.71	
8	.25	.38	.60	.63	.75	.88	1.00	1.13	1.25	1.38	1.50	
9	.22	.33	.44	.65	.66	.78	.88	1.00	1.11	1.22	1.33	
10	.20	.30	.40	.50	.60	.70	.80	.90	1.00	1.10	1.20	



## 3. Other home data

Give 4 points for the answer "yes" to each of the following items:  
 a radio in the home, a piano, a library (100 books, 1 point;  
 200 books, 2 points; 300 books, 3 points; 400 books, 4 points),  
 a telephone, an automobile.

Add the scores. The total score will range from 0 to 100 and is  
 a measure of socio-economic status.

The comparative scores for the Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic  
 Status and for the Social Background Data Sheet are given at various  
 percentile levels in Table II.

TABLE II  
 COMPARATIVE SCORES ON SIMS SCORE CARD FOR SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS  
 AND THE SOCIAL BACKGROUND DATA SHEET

Percentiles	Sims Score Card for Socio-Economic Status	Social Background Data Sheet	Qualitative Description by Sims
10th.....	10	27	Medium
20th.....	14	41	.....
30th.....	23	70	High
40th.....	25	76	Very high
50th.....	27	81	.....
60th.....	28	86	.....
70th.....	30	91	Highest
80th.....	31	95	.....
90th.....	33	99	.....
100th.....	37	100	Indeterminately high

These comparative scores are based upon approximately 200 cases;  
 therefore, they should be considered as very tentative. However, they  
 do present an index of the significance of the scores when they are  
 compared with one another. To those educators who wish to equate  
 or to measure the status of pupils by economic and social factors in  
 the home, the Social Background Data Sheet is recommended. It will  
 give results that correlate highly with the Sims Score Card.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Molders of the American Mind*, by NORMAN WOELFEL.  
New York: Columbia University Press, 1933, 304  
pages.

The views of seventeen persons in the educational field are here set forth and critically examined. These seventeen are divided into three groups: (1) those stressing traditional values; (2) those stressing the ultimacy of science; and (3) those stressing modern experimental naturalism. The persons in group one are, in order, Herman H. Horne, Henry C. Morrison, William C. Bagley, Ellwood P. Cubberley, Thomas H. Briggs, and Ross L. Finney. Those in group two are Charles H. Judd, David Snedden, E. L. Thorndike, Ernest Horn, W. W. Charters, and Franklin Bobbitt. Those in group three are John Dewey, George S. Counts, W. H. Kilpatrick, Harold Rugg, and B. H. Bode. This ambitious and stirring volume with its surprising Herbartian title will provoke controversy as to the accuracy of the groupings, the adequacy of the expositions, and the merit of the criticisms.

*Emile Durkheim on the Division of Labor in Society*,  
translated by GEORGE SIMPSON. New York: The  
Macmillan Company, 1933, 439 pages.

The translation of *De La Division Du Travail Social* of Emile Durkheim will fill a very definite need which has been felt by most English-speaking sociologists. Emile Durkheim is considered one of the most important contemporary sociologists, and, although many articles have been written about Durkheim and his work, it has been quite difficult to understand his social theory through secondary sources. It is in this great work that Durkheim has analyzed social solidarity. He divides his book into two sections: In the first, he attempts to correlate the forms of the division of labor with other social phenomena which he calls functions; and, in the second part, after arriving at the functions of the division of labor, he sets out to understand its causes and conditions.

*Whither Asia? A Study of Three Leaders*, by KENNETH  
SAUNDERS. New York: The Macmillan Company,  
1933, 221 pages.

Although it is difficult at times to harmonize the fine optimism of the author with the events of 1933, he has nevertheless given a clear-cut, factual analysis of the historical background of each country, the ideals and program of each of his selected leaders, and their influence in answering his question, "Whither Asia?"

*The New Leisure Challenges the Schools*, by EUGENE T. LIES. Washington, D. C.: National Education Association, 1933, 321 pages.

Departing from the usual formal method of reporting the results of investigation, the author has demonstrated the need of a new outlook upon the aims of education, and presented a veritable gold mine of concrete suggestions for carrying such objectives into realization through the atmosphere of the school, the spirit and techniques of the teacher, and the school subjects, curricular and extracurricular. Poor, indeed, must the teacher be who cannot find through a careful reading of these pages both inspiration and concrete help in enriching the lives of our boys and girls while in the school, and in assisting them in laying the foundation for a wise choice of leisure in out-of-school and later adult life.

*The Eugenic Predicament*, by S. J. HOLMES. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1933, 232 pages.

As indicated by the title, Professor Holmes does not take a one-sided stand on an admittedly difficult problem, but approaches it from an objectively scientific point of view. This would be expected from the author's previous writings on experimental anatomy, genetics, and eugenics. His present book gives a brilliant summary of the facts regarding inheritance of mental ability, both inferior and superior, eugenic methods, and the probabilities and possibilities which may be expected of these methods. Every student, whether interested in the future of the race or merely in the education of the present generation, would do well to read this unusually balanced book.

*The Way of All Women*, by M. ESTHER HARDING. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1933, 335 pages.

With the penetrating gaze of the analyst, the author scrutinizes the individual woman. Her relationships to man, to children, home, and motherhood, to a profession, to youth and love, and old age and death are successively interpreted in terms of the psychological school that she represents. Then she turns to historical woman now facing the "cultural task of a new age." The old feminism is regarded as a phase of a prolonged attempt to break away from a rôle which did not express the totality of woman nature. Contemporary development of the "new" home, based on feminine friendship without benefit of the masculine element, represents in a rudimentary stage feminine effort to actualize human relationship.

*Adolescence: Life's Spring-Cleaning Time*, by BEVERLEY R. TUCKER. Boston: The Stratford Company, 1933, x+121 pages.

This book is an excellent little volume dealing with preadolescence and adolescence of both the normal and abnormal. Adolescent disturb-

ances are discussed. The underlying organic neurological conditions and mental habits are considered. The influence of endocrine disorders, brain lesions, brain inflammation, general cerebral conditions, spinal-cord lesions, peripheral nerve conditions, and a number of functional neurological conditions are passed in review. The effect of changed glandular secretions, the sex question, and epileptic and convulsive states are discussed. The book is a valuable supplement to the literature on the subject.

*The Fusion of Social Studies in Junior High Schools*, by HOWARD E. WILSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1933, 211 pages.

This is an analysis of the idea of fusion courses in social studies in the junior high school. The author attempted to determine the theory of fusion and to estimate the value of the theory after it was determined. He investigated the content of many types of courses and came to the conclusion that fusion courses do not offer as great educational possibilities as do subject courses. The fact that teachers are not prepared for fusion teaching was a significant element in the conclusion.

*The Effect of Participation in Athletics Upon Scholarship Measured by Achievement Tests*, by JOHN ANDREW COOPER. State College, Pa.: The Pennsylvania State College Press, 1933, 9 pages.

This study substantiates previous studies in that nonathletic groups do slightly better work than athletes. It adds to the previous work by its improved techniques and by the indication that differing institutional athletic policies may affect the comparisons of athletes and non-athletes. In two of the colleges studied the athletes showed superiority in all comparisons, while in three others the athletes showed inferiority.

*Behind the Doctor*, by LOGAN CLENDENING. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1933, 458 pages.

*Behind the Doctor* is an unfolding drama, an epic in education told with simplicity, mastery, and charm. It is not a mere history of medicine, worth while as such a work would be. It is an integrated account of man's search for truth and knowledge. It is a saga concerned with man's emancipation from superstition, witchery, and fear. The reviewer feels that here is a volume which should be familiar to intelligent people in general and especially to teachers and educators.

*Modern Germany: A Study of Conflicting Loyalties*, by PAUL KOSOK. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933, xxi+348 pages.

This volume is based upon six years of painstaking research and presents a comprehensive analysis of the conflicting forces which effect the character of civic training in Germany. It is historical only to the extent of pointing out the background of social forces; its major emphasis

army and the schools, and nonstate organizations and elements: church, youth movement, press, etc. This study is one of the series of researches in civic education in eight countries published by the University of Chicago Press.

*American Labor and the Nation*, edited by SPENCER MILLER, JR. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1933.

This volume contains the text of a series of radio addresses made during 1932 under the auspices of the National Advisory Council on Radio in Education. In the main, the addresses were delivered by men prominent in the American labor movement as, for example, William Green, Matthew Woll, and John L. Lewis. Among the subjects treated are collective bargaining, labor in politics, labor and education, and unemployment.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

*Outlook in Education*, by I. L. KANDEL. Studies and Reports No. II, University of London Institute of Education. New York: Oxford University Press.

*Persons One and Three*, by Shepherd Ivory Franz. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.

*Phyloanalysis*, by William Galt. New York: Baker and Taylor Company (United States distributors).

*Point Scale of Performance Tests*, Volume II. The Process of Standardization, by Grace Arthur. New York: Commonwealth Fund, Division of Publications.

*Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work*, 1933. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

*Provisions for the Individual Differences, Marking and Promotion*, by Roy O. BILLETT. Monograph No. 13, Bulletin 1932, No. 17. Washington: United States Government Printing Office.

*Puppet Show on the Potomac*, by RUFUS DAART, II. New York: Robert M. McBride and Company.

*Relation of Community Areas to Town Government in the State of New York*, by C. R. WASSON and DWIGHT SANDERSON. Bulletin No. 555, April 1933. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.

*Rural Adult Education*, by Benson Y. Landis and John D. Willard. New York: The Macmillan Company.

*Rural Community and Social Work*, by Josephine C. Brown. New York: Family Welfare Association of America.

*Safety in Physical Education in Secondary Schools*, by FRANK S. LLOYD. New York: National Bureau of Casualty and Surety Underwriters.

*Schools and International Understanding*, by Spencer Stoker. Chapel Hill, N. C.: University of North Carolina Press.

*Science and Human Reproduction*, by H. M. Parshley. New York: W. W. Norton and Company.

- Seeds of Revolt*, by MAURITZ A. HALLGREN. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Six-Hundred-and-Sixty Runaway Boys, Why Boys Desert Their Homes*, by Clairette P. Armstrong. Boston: Richard G. Badger.
- Social and Economic Areas of Broome County, New York, 1928*, by DWIGHT SANDERSON. Bulletin No. 559, May 1933. Ithaca: Cornell University Agricultural Experiment Station.
- Social Case Work*, edited by May Antoinette Cannon and Philip Klein. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Social Problems and Social Processes*, edited by Emory S. Bogardus. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Social Reconstruction*, by HAROLD RUGG and MARVIN KRUEGER. New York: The John Day Company.
- Some Experiments in Living*, by Peter Ainslie. New York: Association Press.
- Studies of Student Mortality at the University of Oregon*, by EARL M. PALLETT. Studies in College Teaching, Volume I, Bulletin 2. Eugene: University of Oregon.
- Studies to Determine the Relative Achievement of Students at Different Potentiality Levels*, by R. W. LEIGHTON. Studies in College Teaching, Volume I, Bulletin 1. Eugene: University of Oregon.
- Study of Ability Grouping in the Elementary School*, by PARI WEBB. New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.
- Survey of the Ohio Soldiers' and Sailors' Orphans' Home*, by T. C. HOLY, et al. Bureau of Educational Research Monograph No. 18. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- To Be or Not to Be*, by Louis I. Dublin and Bessie Bunzel. New York: Harrison Smith and Robert Haas.
- Unified American Government*, by Jeremiah S. Young and Elizabeth Young Wright. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc.
- University Teaching by Mail*, by W. S. Bittner and H. F. Malloy. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Vocations for Women*, by Adah Pierce. New York: The Macmillan Company.
- Wasted Womanhood*, by Charlotte Cowdroy. Metuchen, New Jersey: Charles F. Heartman.

# The JOURNAL of EDUCATIONAL SOCIOLOGY

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## OUR SOCIAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION AND THE NEW EDUCATION

### COMMITTEE REPORT

The Department of Superintendence of the National Education Association instructed a committee of educators to present at the February meeting in Cleveland a statement of the social and economic trends and their implications for a new education. This committee was selected (by the chairman, Harold Rugg, and the secretary, Ira T. Chapman) from the New York metropolitan area in order easily to convene the group for discussion and formulation of a report. The first discussion meeting of the small New York group treated the social, economic, and political events and the discernible trends. These discussions resulted in the first section of the report presented herewith.

Following the formulation of the report on the social, economic, and political trends, the committee gave its attention to the possible implications in these trends for the education of the new America. These deliberations culminated in the second section of the report also presented in this issue of THE JOURNAL.

These two sections of the complete report were sent out to several hundred educators over the country with instructions to use the report as the basis of local conferences of educators and laymen. The conclusions reached in these local conferences were to be brought to Cleveland and fused into a final report for submission to the program committee of the Department of Superintendence. Two

full afternoon meetings at Cleveland were given to a presentation of the two sections of the report and a discussion of their fullest meaning. The report follows in full in order that educators and laymen all over the country may have access to the proposals for purposes of wider dissemination and discussion.

The membership of the committee is as follows: Ira T. Chapman, secretary, superintendent of schools, Elizabeth, New Jersey; Kenneth M. Gould, managing editor, *The Scholastic* magazine; Paul R. Hanna, Lincoln School of Teachers College; William H. Holmes, superintendent of schools, Mt. Vernon, N. Y.; John A. Logan, superintendent of schools, Newark, N. J.; Daniel A. Prescott, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, N. J.; Robert K. Speer, New York University, New York City; Goodwin Watson, Teachers College, Columbia University; Harold Rugg, chairman, Teachers College, Columbia University.

## PART I

### THE SOCIAL-ECONOMIC SITUATION AND EDUCATION

#### *A. The Production and Distribution of a Fine Standard of Living For All*

##### *1. An Economy of Abundance for All Can Now be Ushered In*

We know beyond reasonable doubt that sufficient natural resources, machine technology, and skilled man power are now available to produce a high standard of living for every man, woman, and child in America. The minimum for all cannot be set exactly, but certainly it need not be less than several times the minimum of 1929. The facts justify the conclusion that the existing economic system, if run at its full capacity and efficiency, can wipe out economic insecurity for every American.

But, under the existing plan of ownership, control, and operation the number of man-hours required in the production of any commodity unit is so small that the price of commodities and the wages of labor bear no discernible relation to the facts of production. Data are at hand to show that the "quantity" or "standardized" goods that make up the necessities and comforts of life can be produced by the adult workers in the prime of life in a very short working week, probably not exceeding 16 to 20 hours. It has become increasingly evident that if quantity goods are to be produced and distributed to match the consumption needs of the people, some other scheme of purchasing power will have to be devised than that now generally employed.



## 2. But the People Still Lack Purchasing Power

Through the Industrial Revolution huge surpluses of money and credit were accumulated in the basic industries of all industrial countries by drastically limiting the return to the mass of the workers. A considerable part of this surplus was divided among the owners and executives of industry and business, giving these persons vast fortunes. Another very large part of it, however, was reinvested in the construction of new plants and competing plants, both in the industrial nations themselves and in undeveloped regions of the earth. Thus, a vast proportion of the total social income was diverted from the buying of consumers' goods which would satisfy the daily needs of the people and was devoted to the piling up of producers' goods—that is, factories, machines, power plants, transport, and communication, and other facilities. As a consequence, the production plants of America (and of other nations too) have become large enough to produce a fine standard of living for all of their people.

But, under the existing system of private control and operation and an unstable system of money, prices, and wages, sufficient purchasing power has not been distributed to the people to enable them to buy the goods which are produced and thus to keep the production system in continuous operation. Hence, the frequent recurrence of stoppages, or so-called depressions, in the economic system. Therefore, the problem is presented to us now of designing a new system of control and operation for the production and distribution of goods.

## 3. The Burden of Debt

Our production and distribution agencies have been largely financed "on credit," that is, by creating debt claims against them. These debts have been growing much more swiftly than population or the production of basic commodities. Consequently, goods are mortgaged faster than they can be produced. Eminent scientific students contend that these debts can never be paid. The sound design of an economic system must involve a new and socialized method of handling credit. As a first step many students insist that all banking and credit activities shall be taken over and operated by the Federal Government in the name and interest of all of the people.

## 4. The Unemployment of Our Technical Resources

An even more important fact is that under our private system of operation much of the existing plants and many new technical designs are withheld from effective use by entrenched economic interests. Engineers of prestige agree that this withholding from full use is caused by the current system of individual ownership and control for private profit.

## 5. Nonproducers and the Social Income

The present inequitable division of the social income has happened because a large and growing group of middlemen and manipulators of sales, money, investment, and credit have interjected themselves into the

economic system. In an interdependent order some of these persons are necessary to serve as distributors of goods. Many of them, however, contribute nothing to the production of the true value of commodities. They are exploiters and add large items to the cost of commodities, which cost must be borne by the rank and file of consumers. The trend of discussion is definitely in the direction of finding a way to reeducate the parasitical members of this group of middlemen and to assign them to productive work.

#### 6. Our Unreliable Units of Exchange

Throughout the Industrial Revolution the units of exchange—for example, money, prices, wages—became increasingly unstable, fluctuating violently within short periods of time. They are now unwholesomely subject to manipulation by a small group who control the policies of large banks, the stock exchanges, and the like. There is an insistent need for such a degree of social control of credit as will absolutely guarantee the uninterrupted flow of credit to all who "produce"—either physical things or designs and plans. A steady flow of purchasing power to all of the people can be guaranteed only by a steady flow of credit. There is an increasing tendency among leaders to agree that this collective function of the people cannot be left any longer to the selfish desires of private citizens.

#### 7. Population is Becoming Stable

Until about the period of the World War, population grew ever more rapidly in almost all industrial countries, providing part of the new purchasing power for the increased production and for the development of virgin continents. Near the beginning of the second revolution the acceleration in growth of population steadily declined. Today, the annual number of births merely balances the number of deaths; population is becoming stable.

The fact that no longer will there be a large new population demanding each year vast additions to the physical property of the nation—for example, schools, houses, utilities, factories, stores, public enterprises—provides an additional reason for rigid central control over investment and the definitely planned expansion of new plants.

### B. *The Control of Economic and Political Government*

#### 1. The Workers' Control over Job and Income

The complexity and interdependence of the economic system, with its host of interfering middlemen, have taken away from the wage earners the control over their jobs, their wages, and their products, and from consumers the control over their standards of life. This control is in the hands of a comparatively small body of persons, totaling not over 3 to 5 per cent of the population, who are enabled thereby to accumulate large profits for themselves, meanwhile withholding a decent and healthful life from the masses of the people.

#### 2. The Spirit of Free Competition and the Need for Central Control

We know now that it is essentially the public sanction of the spirit

called free competition or laissez-faire that has made possible this concentration of control and the inequitable division of the social income. Industry has controlled government and government thereby has left industry free to develop as it would.

Because of the critical mutual dependence of farms, factories, mines, railways, and other parts of the system, many students now conclude that not only the banks but the basic industries and utilities as well must be taken from the sphere of private manipulation and carried on as a scientific technological enterprise in the interest of the general social welfare.

### 3. Control and Government

Although the experiments in political democracy have been predicated upon the principle of government by the consent of the governed, the true consent of a majority of the people has never been given. This has been due in part to the lack of machinery with which to get necessary facts and to register group judgment. But it has been due even more to the lack of intelligent understanding among the rank and file of the people. This is due in large part to a totally inadequate system of continuous adult education and to the private manipulations of the agencies which form public opinion.

In recent decades there has been taking place the rise of a world-wide system of swift communication, making possible the prompt formation of the public mind by propaganda and censorship, the control of the press, and other agencies of each nation by special economic groups. A tendency to use these agencies to provide unified support for an existing régime can be found in one third of the governments of the world.

### 4. Government by Experts

Despite the many changes which have taken place in our economic and social life, municipal, State, and national governments tended to retain the organizations of a century ago. As new functions and services became imperatively needed they were merely added to the old framework. As a result, government is today a maze of governmental units (wards, districts, towns, counties, States, etc.) which seriously hamper the efficient carrying on of government. In recent years there has developed, however, another tendency; namely, that of making government an expert function, while retaining for the people democratic control of basic policies. It is generally recognized, therefore, that the correction of the lag of political institutions behind social conditions is a serious task of the present generation.

## *C. Nationalism and Internationalism*

### 1. The Rise of Selfish Nationalistic Attitudes

In spite of the growing interdependence of the nations of the earth, recent decades have given witness to the rise of a dangerous economic and political nationalism in every continent. This has been marked by the erection of trade-destroying tariff barriers between trade-starved

peoples, a mad race for raw materials and markets and supremacy in armaments, by a selfish patriotic fervor, and by conformity to narrow allegiances—all of which creates constant international friction and threat of war.

## 2. The Belief in Nordic Superiority

Especially has the peace of the world been endangered by the widespread assumption among the Nordic peoples of Europe and America of racial superiority. Since the World War this trend has suspiciously sharpened, and today lies at the base of serious injustice, limitation of opportunity, and base nationalistic conflicts.

## 3. The Rising Tide of Fascist Dictatorships

The world-wide social crisis has precipitated serious challenges to democracy. In Italy, Germany, Japan, Austria, Poland, and in other countries since the World War, governments called "democratic" have been overthrown and replaced by dictatorships of small minority groups. Freedom of speech and press and other civil liberties have been abolished, parliaments have been suspended, and all criticism of government has been forbidden.

In the past few years it has become common practice to refer to these dictatorship types of government as *Fascist*. There is, therefore, growing recognition that a new world-wide struggle over government is under way in which Fascism is flaunting a fight-to-the-death challenge to "democracy."

## *D. Changing Social Institutions*

### 1. Changing Loyalties and Spread of Despair and Fatalism

With the swift advance of machine technology, and the rise of vast manufacturing cities, the former face-to-face conditions of family, neighborhood, and community life have changed sharply. The varied functions of the family of pre-machine days are being taken over by diverse new social agencies. Long established allegiances to relatives, neighbors, the church, the community, and the country are breaking down. Life in the cities is becoming increasingly anonymous and impersonal, and crime and indifference to public affairs grows apace.

Thus, in these transition years between the machine age and the power age, the individual is cast adrift, with no sure mooring masts, his economic and social institutions collapsing about him. The old allegiances, such as success through competition, obedience to elders, the democratic idea, the assurance of the secure life in the world to come—these and others are fast disappearing. Many thinking persons are asking: How can we and our children live lives of integrity in such a chaotic civilization? They maintain that the psychology of drift is illustrated in the opportunism of our political reconstruction and in the absence of a clear plan for educational and cultural reconstruction. Many indeed remind us that there is growing a loss of faith in the ability of mankind to take its fate in its own hands; that we have resigned ourselves to being straws on currents we could neither stem

nor direct. Current movements in other countries emphasize strongly the emancipation of human will from this fatalistic bondage. It is possible that America is now due for a reaction towards determined self-direction.

#### *E. Education and Social Reconstruction*

Indeed the study of man and his changing society produced the conviction that we stand today on the verge of a great culture. The epoch which we are now entering is the first on the time-line of history in which man can bring forth a civilization of abundance, of tolerance, and of beauty.

It is a potentially great culture, because, having invented efficient prime movers, man need no longer be a cringing slave of nature. It can be great, not because the twelve-hour day can and will become the four-hour day, but because work of any prolongation can become a happy, creative experience; great because of the possibility of the successful union of democracy and technology; great because the scientific method can at last be applied to the man-man relationships as well as to the man-thing relationships; in a word, great because man can now live creatively both as artist and as technologist.

We stand indeed at the crossroads to a new epoch; in various directions lie diverse pathways to tomorrow. Some lead to social chaos and the possible destruction of interdependent ways of living. One leads, however, to the era of the great society. There is no way to short-circuit the solution to the problem of building this new epoch. There is only the way of education, and it is slow, not sudden.

## PART II

### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS OF SOCIAL, ECONOMIC, AND POLITICAL TRENDS

In the light of the analysis made of the situations and trends in the social, economic, and political areas, certain implications may be drawn concerning the education of the new America. Among the more important implications the committee selected the following for discussion:

#### 1. A New Education in Social and Economic Understanding

In order to inaugurate as quickly and as democratically as possible the era of social control over our economic, social, and political structures, a vast effort must be made to educate the American people through:

a) Every avenue of information and education—study and discussion groups, press, radio, cinema, theater, platform, etc. The issues must be made vividly concrete—a *poverty economy* resulting from an out-moded laissez-faire economic system on the one hand and on the other a

*plenty economy* which could result from a designed social system. 'The contrast must have a cutting edge so keen that no single public incident can escape being bared to disclose its true social or antisocial purposes.

b) The schools, all along the line, but particularly the secondary and higher institutions, must reconstruct their curricula to give proper emphasis to: (1) the understanding of the unstable economic base of our contemporary civilization; and (2) creating desire and determination to redesign the system to achieve the material and spiritual benefits which await our coöperative conquest.

## 2. A New Education in Government

Since the manipulation of government in the interests of minority, self-seeking groups has persisted through the ignorance of the general electorate, the lack of dissemination of facts and issues, it is clear that our educational program must accept its share of the responsibility for the correction of this evil. To accomplish this, the educational program must:

a) Educate both the adults and the young people of the Nation in the general and specific purposes which should be served by government.

b) Develop the principles and outlines of a more functional democratic political system which will operate on clearly defined economic and social issues and make possible the recording of the popular will. Political education of a functional type must replace our present emphasis on the mere structure of government.

## 3. Education for Broad National Cultures and for International Coöperation

Since narrow nationalism (economic imperialism and racial ascendancy) is an increasing menace to the peace of the world, education must develop in school curricula such understandings as these:

a) National aspirations for control of natural resources, markets, territory for population expansion, etc., generally lead to war, and war in modern times is so destructive to social wealth that it leaves the victor and vanquished almost equally impoverished.

b) A world-wide unit of economic planning is the only one that has a fair chance of permanent stability. Thus, education must become "international" in this sense of economic planning.

c) There is no evidence to support the belief of the superiority of one race over another in the total scale of human values. Furthermore, each race and nation is deeply dependent on all others for the enrichment of its culture.

d) However, the preceding statements should not be construed to mean that the unique national or racial characteristics of each ethnic group should be "internationalized" or "standardized." The world will be correspondingly rich in culture as each group maintains and develops the best of its indigenous qualities. Education in America should pay larger attention to the flowering of our own nascent national culture.

It is, therefore, to forestall a destructive economic nationalism and

attempts at racial or national ascendancy that education must point to the superior stability of a world economic order and to the evidence for racial and national equality.

#### 4. The Curriculum and a Realistic Education of Socially Useful Work

The new curriculum must become more and more realistic in considering the problems which are most pertinent to the progress of civilization. This realistic education will utilize the method of learning by participation in socially useful work. Children and adults will learn about the health of the community by actually participating with experts in improving the general health. Or they may realistically learn about the forces which control the city or State government by taking an active part in improving the quality of government. Wherever there is an evident need for a better community life, there will education look for a situation offering great possibilities for learning. Education of the future will use as its subject matter and method any situation in the local or larger community which can be changed and improved. Thus the whole life of the community becomes the field of operation for the school of the future.

#### 5. Need for New Outlets for Released Creative Energies

As we employ more machines and technology to do the world's productive work, we must find new outlets for our constructive energies. The satisfaction accruing in past generations through daily contact with craft processes must now be achieved through new activities. Perhaps much of this released energy could be applied to pushing forward vast research necessary to understand comprehensively the physical, natural, and spiritual life we live. No definite suggestions have yet been made, but much effort must be given by education to the profitable use of the increasing amount of leisure time.

Human beings, with an increasing amount of time saved from productive pursuits by the social employment of technology, will turn to personal growth and enjoyment, thus greatly increasing the size and importance of the educational task:

a) Children and youths will be in school universally until the ages of eighteen or twenty, thus greatly increasing the school population.

b) Adults will turn to a reconstructed adult-education program offering continuous recreational, cultural, and vocational pursuits. This will greatly increase the services of adult education.

#### 6. The School Curriculum and the Achievement of Desired Social Changes

Since rapid and extensive change seems inevitable and since mere social trends are in themselves nonpurposive, education shares a responsibility in giving purpose and direction to those trends. Curricula must show, for example, how man has struggled to gain more control over nature and to obtain more of such social attributes as freedom and justice. Some of this struggle has failed to bring human betterment because man lacked sufficient knowledge and wisdom. At last, however, we possess sufficient knowledge to build a new social world order of

material plenty and cultural enrichment. We need now to develop the universal wisdom to arrange our coöperative enterprises in such a way that our newly acquired scientific knowledge may function for our general welfare. Education here faces one of its greatest tasks in teaching that man must direct and control change for social purposes.

#### 7. New Demands on Professional-Education Institutions

The efficient management of our technological knowledge and equipment in a truly social-planning economy will require staffs of experts trained:

- a) To see clearly the fundamental social purpose for which we must operate our technical equipment
- b) To master the highly complex and delicately balanced interdependent systems of production, distribution, and consumption
- c) To understand the alternative steps before us in ushering in the new era

These and other equally important requirements point clearly to a broader and more thorough training than our professional-education institutions of engineering, commerce, medicine, etc., have given to date.

#### 8. Divising a New Method of Learning

If *coöperation* rather than *competition* is to be a working principle of the new order, then education must revise much of its present pedagogical method. Where individual competition for marks and other personally motivated rewards now constitutes the usual classroom method, provision must be made to learn coöperative group effort through repeated and satisfying practice.

#### 9. The Probable Increased Growth of School Populations

A number of factors combine to demand of us new techniques for predicting future educational populations and needs in budgets, equipment, etc.

- a) The immediate result of increased employment of technology and the corresponding prohibition of child labor will mean larger school populations for several school generations to come.
- b) Eventually, however, the size of elementary- and secondary-school population will become relatively stable as our population becomes constant.
- c) Over a long period, a large increase in school population will also come in the adult levels as we learn to enjoy our new leisure profitably. Even though adult enrollment in education may some time become stable, it seems probable that education will never become static in the variety and number of new fields which can be opened to human beings.

#### 10. The Demands of New Conditions on Differentiation of Curricula

The demands of an increasingly heterogeneous school population will force a new differentiation of curricula to meet a variety of needs:

- a) The classical high-school course leading to admission in a liberal-arts college is hopelessly inappropriate for the preponderance of our



total secondary-school population. Secondary schools must now build curricula directly out of a variety of practical life activities—home-making, personal services, artistic expression, agriculture, industry, whatnot.

b) The liberal-arts college must be supplemented by a new body of "folk-art" colleges, technical colleges, etc.

c) The adult-education program must be extended to care for the complete cultural development of the individual. We conceive of the community in the coming years as increasingly "educational-centered" and the board of education as a leader in the creation of a multitude of culture groups within the community, thus caring for a great range of personal hobbies and interests—intellectual, artistic, emotional, physical, and the like.

#### 11. A Great Increase in Educational Support

An economy of abundance will make possible a greatly increased expenditure for education. In a plenty economy it will be impractical to continue to think of a curtailed educational program as we do at the present time in our scarcity economy. An economy of plenty will make possible and socially essential the following:

a) A teaching staff adequately trained and large enough to care properly for small groups of learners. To reduce the size of classes to the number shown to be desirable will require the employment of a vast number of additional teachers in the United States. Not fewer teachers, but many more is an imperative desideratum of the new education.

Education, if considered as sharing the task of American reconstruction, will demand our very ablest men and women as leaders and workers. This will require that the youths of best minds and wills enter education as a career and receive the broadest possible foundation and a technical proficiency commensurate with the importance of the task confronting education.

b) A high standard of economic living will free teachers from the worry of insecurity and make possible the development of well-rounded personalities through travel, periodic study, and a variety of rich cultural pursuits.

c) Children and adults while in the noneconomic-productive pursuit of education can be maintained by the planning economic state.

d) Travel for pupils can be made an integral part of education.

e) A variety of needed clinical services could be developed.

f) Adequately trained and staffed research departments will push forward the boundaries of education.

#### 12. We Can Now Give Equal Educational Opportunity to All

An equitable distribution of the products of a socially designed economy will result in equal educational opportunity for all. Under the present system only those who have economic resources in reserve can pursue education beyond the secondary school; and vast numbers even now cannot attend secondary schools, lacking as they do the steady supply of food, clothing, shelter, etc. The expense of higher education

obviously closes this avenue to the majority of the lower income groups of our population. It is equally true of most of our facilities for adult education that only those persons of sizable incomes can afford the luxury of travel, study, theater, etc. We base our recommendations, therefore, on the expectation that a socially directed flow of goods and services will give all who desire the chance to obtain as much education as can profitably be assimilated.

### 13. New Teacher-Training Program

Two of the above considerations point to the necessity for a new development in teacher education. On the one hand, the teacher working in the curriculum implied above will have to be a much more highly educated generalist and specialist than our professional standards demand at present. This education will require much realistic understanding of the contemporary economic, social, and political life, with a clear vision of the part education must play in shaping the progress of our Nation along these lines. Such teacher education will take place not alone within the academic walls of the teachers college, but will encompass experience in the world of affairs. In order to accomplish this, teacher-training institutions will have to be reconstructed.

In the second place, an economy of plenty will allow longer years of preparation for the teacher in training. Education may require a period of training equal to such professions as medicine or law. This extended period in training means, again, a reconstructed curriculum.

### 14. A Powerful Educational Association Working for Social Reconstruction

In order to contribute effectively to the task of social reconstruction, educators must recognize the need for a powerful and inspired professional group which can cooperate with other organized groups in the common purpose of ushering in the social planning economy. Educators as citizens must exercise their full rights to labor for a cause. The effective pursuit of our cause lies in united strength for social goals.

## WHAT'S AHEAD IN AMERICAN EDUCATION<sup>1</sup>

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The institution of education, like all social institutions, has developed out of recognized social needs and has been established to minister to these needs and to develop and conserve the corresponding values. Since these needs are now undergoing profound change in certain respects, the necessity of reconstructing and redirecting the effort of the schools is universally recognized. The forces which must be counted upon to bring about the desired changes are of two sorts, the nature and relative effectiveness of which should be carefully studied. The first are the forces of society outside of the schools, and the second the efforts at reform and improvement exerted by leaders of education within the profession itself. Let us consider the latter first.

In connection with the present emerging social order, two rather distinct views among leaders of education are prominent, both of which recognize that one fundamental social purpose of education as an institution is to serve as an important agency of social control and the maintenance and satisfactory functioning of an established social order. Both views are also concerned with the obligation of education in bringing about desirable social changes and promoting social progress. As to the appropriate way of discharging this latter obligation, however, the two points of view differ radically. One centers attention on the individual and the development of individual personality as the primary concern of education, the other on the urgent and immediate necessity of social reconstruction and the responsibility of the schools in that direction. The first point of view places supreme emphasis upon the discovery and proper development of the native capacities and peculiar

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<sup>1</sup>This address was delivered by Dean Withers to a class in "Education for Social Reconstruction," at the School of Education, New York University, on March 9, 1934.

mental and physical characteristics of individuals and on the effort to bring these capacities and characteristics to their fullest maturity by an educative process that is in accord with their natural development. The aim is not directly at the transformation of the social order, but at the development of individual personality, the assumption being that a democratic society made up of individuals so trained will take proper care of itself. By coöperative effort such a society will determine the kind of social order and progress that will prove to be most satisfactory to all concerned. Advocates of this philosophy have had much to say in recent years concerning the child-centered school and the adaptation of the form and content of instruction to individual needs and interests. They oppose, in theory at least, indoctrination, imposition, or propaganda of any sort. Some go so far as to say that it is in no sense the function of the school to teach children what they should think, but only to teach them how to think. In short, everything centers around the child's own interests and capacities and upon the attainment of immediate rather than deferred values; that is to say, values which are appreciated by the child himself and which he feels the urge to realize. It is not necessary to discuss at length this phase of our modern philosophy of education. We are all familiar with it. For more than a quarter of a century this point of view has been very prominent in the theory and practice of American education. It is in essential harmony with our democratic traditions and has been further encouraged by certain characteristics of our national development to which I shall refer later on.

The second point of view in our present social philosophy of education considers the present social order as wholly unsatisfactory and in need of profound reconstruction. It holds that in bringing about such reconstruction education must exert an immediate and decidedly positive influence. The arraignment of the existing social order from this point of view is strongly expressed in a recent document issued by the Progressive Education Association entitled,

"A Call to the Teachers of the Nation." I presume most of you are acquainted with this document. However, I think it well to call your attention to some outstanding statements contained in it.

It is asserted, for example, and I quote, that "In the present social order the general good is made a by-product of the pursuit of private gain; self-interest is clothed in the garment of civic virtue; science is converted into a tool of privilege; production is made to tyrannize over consumption; the fruits of technology contribute to the debasement of culture; justice is bought and sold in the market place; racketeers justify their behavior in terms of business ethics; powerful barons of finance extol the ways of democracy; and great capitalists, while resorting to violence in the ruthless suppression of workers demanding a living wage, profess to follow the teachings of the simple carpenter of Nazareth."

In the view of this group of educators the responsibility of the school and of the teaching profession is clear and unmistakable. They do not believe that it is necessary to forsake the fundamental ideal of democracy and go over to a dictatorship similar to that in Russia, Germany, or Italy. They do recognize, however, that while the ideal of democracy as originally established by the framers of the American Constitution is not to be discarded, the application of this ideal must be fundamentally changed. As originally conceived, the ideal was concerned primarily with political relations and adjustments. Today the fundamental concern of democracy is not primarily political, but economic and industrial. It is asserted, therefore, by those who hold this view, that if democracy is to survive it must be divorced from its union with the simple agrarian life of the past and be adjusted to the complex, industrial society of the present. In the sphere of economic relationships it must be dissociated from its individualistic connections and be redefined in terms of the collectivist reality. In the highly integrated social order of the present century individual men cannot own and operate the means of production as they did at the time of the founding of the Nation.

Today the individual can be guaranteed freedom for cultural and spiritual growth only by the abandonment of *economic individualism*. Liberty of person can no longer be attained through freeing business enterprise from restraints, but only through deliberate organization to guarantee material security for all. Therefore, if the democratic tradition is to survive, its forms of practical expression must undergo radical change. To teach the ideal of *American democracy in its historic form*, without the illumination that comes from an effort to apply it to contemporary society, is intellectually dishonest because it is an attempt to educate youth for life in a world that does not exist. The schools, therefore, cannot evade the responsibility of participating actively in the task of *reconstituting the democratic tradition and of thus working positively towards a new society*.

Consequently, according to this point of view, teachers must work boldly and without ceasing for a better social order. In doing so they must assert their independence.

They owe nothing to the present economic system except to improve it; they owe nothing to any privileged caste except to strip it of its privileges; their sole duty is to guard and promote the widest and most permanent interests of society. They must always be in a position to place their faith, their intelligence, their idealistic fervor and not merely their professional skill at the service of the masses of the people. If teachers are to play a positive and creative rôle in building a better social order they must repudiate utterly the ideal of *material success as the goal of education*, acquire a *realistic understanding of the forces that actually rule the world*, and formulate a fundamental program of thought and action that will deal honestly and intelligently with the problems of industrial civilization. They will have to restate their philosophy of education, reorganize the procedures of the school, and redefine their own position in society. Such measures will, of course, require fundamental changes in the methods of teacher training and the assumption on the part of the profession of an increasing burden of cultural leadership.

I have stated this point of view at length essentially in the language of its leading advocates because of its importance and of the increasing emphasis that in recent months has been placed upon it. It is obvious that it cannot be worked out in practice without indulging in actual propaganda and indoctrination. This is frankly admitted by its advocates. They assert, in fact, that the schools must be utilized as the most effective instrument available to indoctrinate the coming generation with the principles of collectivism and of adequate social control.

Shall education, then, be essentially a systematic form of

propaganda? The answer of this group of educators, or at least of leading members of the group, is, frankly, "Yes. If education is to be genuinely progressive it must face squarely and courageously every social issue; come to grips with life in all of its stark reality; establish an organic relation with the community, develop a realistic and comprehensive theory of welfare, fashion a compelling and challenging vision of human destiny, and become less frightened than it is today at the bogies of imposition and indoctrination."

In a recent pamphlet entitled, "Dare the School Build a New Social Order," Professor Counts declares himself as follows: "I am prepared to defend the thesis that all education contains a large element of imposition, that in the very nature of the case this is inevitable, that the existence and evolution of society depend upon it, and that it is consequently eminently desirable that the frank acceptance of this fact by the educator is a major professional obligation."

The important significance of this point of view should not and cannot be overlooked. Should we as educators adopt it? If we do and endeavor to give it full expression in practice we must recognize the conditions, both within and outside of education as an institution, that will have to be met and dealt with. The competence of educators for the discharge of the profound social obligation which this philosophy assumes will, of course, be seriously and justly challenged by social and industrial leaders in all other fields of activity. The marvelous development of education and the enormous increase in expenditures upon it since the World War serve to intensify popular criticism of any such claim. It is now being asserted by some, for example, that the interest of the American people in education which has permitted this marvelous development has served to give to the profession of education an exaggerated notion of its own importance and an unjustifiable enlargement of its claims as a factor of social control. This criticism is strongly expressed in the January number of *Harper's*

*Magazine* in an article by Nathaniel Pelfer entitled, "Educators Groping for the Stars." Mr. Pelfer asserts that "such a philosophy of education is wholly impracticable and that whatever education may be, culturally or as a concept, as an institution it is not independent or self-sufficient. It cannot create, it can only reflect. It cannot generate new social ideas, it can transmit only those which are already accepted. It must always bend to the collective will around it. In social ideas it can rise no higher than the source of the thought, feelings, and beliefs of the dominant groups in the society in which it finds itself. In his judgment, educators are merely followers, not pioneers. To attempt to endow themselves with a grander rôle is but a waste of energy."

The weakness of this criticism is, I think, evident; for educators may and should certainly be important factors in the dominant groups of society to which Mr. Pelfer refers. His criticism, however, is a challenge to those who hold to the foregoing philosophy of education to justify their claim to the competence of educators acting alone to define a social philosophy for the people of the United States that is superior to that formulated by any and all other groups of citizens. If propaganda and indoctrination are to be justified in favor of promoting the educator's conception of the most desirable social order while being denied to any other, the superiority of that conception will have to be established not only to the satisfaction of educators, but also to the satisfaction of intelligent citizens of every type. Any other procedure would be in the nature of an autocratic dictatorship, not of democracy. Any conception of the most desirable social order that is best suited to the evolving life and the peculiar genius of the American people has very little chance of general and continued acceptance unless it embodies the combined wisdom of the whole population. The progressive achievement of a social order conceived in this way must be recognized as a responsibility of education, but not as a responsibility of the schools acting alone. It is true that schools now have, and present indi-



cations are that they will continue to have, an increasingly important share in this responsibility. What that share will eventually prove to be, educators themselves must try to determine not only by studying the school as an institution but also by the study of the needs and interests of society at large. This obligation society has the right to place upon the shoulders of the leaders of our profession. In trying to discharge it, educators must recognize that the schools and education in general represent one fundamental interest of the people, but not the only one. Education's place among these interests, its proper relation to them, and its own peculiar function, educators must endeavor to determine. At the same time, we should be aware of the fact that this is not the only important service which the educator should be prepared to render. As an intelligent citizen he has responsibilities to society which extend far beyond his direct professional service to the schools. As an educated and worthy member of society his influence outside of the schools must be actively exerted in intelligent coöperation with others in the endeavor to promote true social progress. While the educator's influence, at least under present conditions, should not be the dominating one, it should certainly be fully equal to that of any other occupational group.

It is peculiarly important at the present time that leaders in education shall use the utmost wisdom both in understanding the place and importance of the school as a social institution and in wisely directing it to the fullest achievement of its important function. To this end both points of view of the social philosophy of education to which I have called your attention have value. Both are needed in determining the future policy and program of American education. Neither taken by itself furnishes a satisfactory basis on which to build. Both should be recognized and their relative importance determined by a penetrating study and appraisal of actual conditions, real and prospective, which the schools must face. This is certainly no time for educators to lose their heads. Education is indeed in the

midst of a serious crisis in many parts of the United States. All must admit that fact. This, however, is all the more reason why responsible leaders of our profession should use the utmost sanity and good judgment in directing the way out, for the importance of the schools in the present and future welfare of America can hardly be overestimated. To quote Cubberley (*Introduction to the Study of Education*, page 30), "What progress we as a people make in national character from generation to generation is largely determined by how well the public school has seen national needs and been guided by that largeness of national vision without which but little progress in national welfare is ever made."

Let us consider now, briefly, those apparently permanent forces outside of the school as a social institution that will inevitably be a chief determining influence in the future of our system of education. Certain striking and urgent effects of these forces in creating our present problems of education have already been discussed by others. Let me, therefore, point out those forces which I consider fundamental and relatively permanent. It is impossible to understand the present and future of education without careful consideration of the characteristic tendencies of our American civilization. Every civilization has its determining characteristics which serve to distinguish it from all others. Among those peculiar to our own may be mentioned the following:

1. A profound faith in science and the application of scientific method in the solution of every type of problem in which as a people we are interested. This faith, as you know, has been justified by the results. At the beginning of the present century Alfred Russell Wallace in his book entitled *The Wonderful Century* discussed the human achievements of all history that he considered as of first-class importance. Of these he found thirty-nine in all, twenty-four of which belonged to the nineteenth century alone, and only fifteen to all centuries prior to the nineteenth. Since the beginning of the present century this

accelerated pace in scientific achievement has been kept up and even increased. The method, therefore, has justified itself not only in the minds of educators and those engaged in research, but also of the public in general. The result has been not only a remarkable increase in tested knowledge in every field of human interest and activity, but also one of the chief factors in the great development during the last half century of mass education as shown in the growth in attendance upon secondary and higher education.

2. The universal disposition to apply immediately scientific knowledge as soon and as fully as possible in ways that are useful. As a people we are not satisfied with the discovery of truth; we attempt at once to put it to work. Its value is found not in itself alone but in its bearing upon human welfare, real and possible.

3. A pronounced general tendency towards differentiation of function and specialization of effort in every important field of human interest and activity. This tendency naturally arises out of the great accumulation of tested knowledge and the strong and persistent desire to apply it. It is, in fact, an outgrowth of the two tendencies mentioned above. Consequently, the importance of competent specialists in every form of human service is recognized both for the discovery of truth and in its application.

4. The tendency towards universalizing the idea of democracy and extending it to include every type of human being and all forms of organized social life. In spite of the criticism and certain forms of opposition the concept of democracy has gone steadily and irresistably forward so that today more than ever before human personality is valued here in America and the right of every individual, man, woman, and child, to self-expression and self-realization as a respected personality is generally conceded. This movement complicates the problems of organized social life and education in a number of ways, but the movement itself is recognized as a desirable characteristic of American civilization. It is destined, therefore, to remain and must be reckoned with.

5. General mastery of the physical environment and the enormous speeding up of human life through improved means of transportation, communication, and methods of work. The railroad, steamship, automobile, flying machine, telegraph, telephone, television, phonograph, and radio have all appeared in comparatively recent years. These have enormously accelerated the pace of life, multiplied its contacts, complicated its problems, and vastly increased the opportunities for wrong living as well as for right living. The experiences resulting from all these influences are profoundly changing our modern mind, altering our ways of thinking, giving us new notions of value, and reshaping our general philosophy of life. Consequently, in trying to guide educational effort we find ourselves facing the difficult problem of adjusting individuals and groups to the opportunities and privileges as well as to the needs and responsibilities of a comparatively new civilization.

6. The vast accumulation of wealth and the interesting difficult problems which result therefrom, such as the problems of production, distribution, the uses and possibilities of leisure time, the consumption of materials, and the utilization of services of all sorts.

7. A profound and increasing faith in the importance of education as a means of meeting the issues and solving the problems of such a civilization. Evidences of this faith and their bearing upon secondary and higher education are recognized by all of us in spite of certain recent happenings which would seem for the moment to indicate a tendency in the opposite direction.

The remarkable growth in school and college attendance throughout the last half century has not been equalled in any other country or period of human history. From 1890 to 1920, for example, while the general population of the United States was increasing 68 per cent, enrollment in secondary schools increased 986 per cent and in colleges and universities, 432 per cent. The total number attending high schools in 1890 was only slightly more than two hundred thousand, a smaller number than are attending the

high schools in New York City today. At the present time approximately five million boys and girls are attending the public high schools in the United States. There are as many now in these schools as are found in similar institutions in the whole of Europe, with a population four times as large as that of the United States. There are more students in colleges, universities, and other institutions of higher education in this country than in all the rest of the world combined.

Inevitably, a critically important result of this whole development in secondary and higher education has been great and increasing expenditures for this purpose. Considered merely from a financial point of view, education has thus become easily the leading business enterprise of the Nation. We have recently been spending approximately three billion dollars annually upon this one enterprise and the total amount of money invested in educational plants throughout the United States is slightly in excess of the total invested in the eight largest business and industrial enterprises of the Nation outside of education. Considerably more than half a billion dollars are spent each year on higher education, and for the fourteen-year period from 1911 to 1925 American colleges and universities received in gifts from private sources alone more than eight hundred million dollars. One important question, therefore, at present is whether or not the Nation as a whole will be inclined to continue to expend an equivalent amount for this purpose in the years that are ahead, and in what ways such expenditures can bring about more satisfactory educational service.

8. Certain marked characteristics of the American people affecting the problem of education, which we have inherited from the founders and early settlers of the American colonies and which seem to be rather deeply rooted in the present population, I refer to the fact that most of our original stock came to us in order to escape forms of oppression, real or imagined, and to gain for themselves a liberty which they felt was denied them in the mother country. The cultural effect resulting was compli-

cated by the inexperienced handling of the Colonies by England. It is perhaps not too much to say that the large amount of crime and lawlessness which has come to be characteristic of the people of the United States has its roots partly in the disposition established early in our history to minimize the sanctity and importance of law. Since the laws by which the early colonists were supposed to be governed were formulated abroad by legislators who had little knowledge of conditions which they sought to govern, and administered by persons sent over for that purpose who were also ignorant of American conditions, we early acquired a tendency to obey only those laws that we felt were satisfactory and to ignore or openly disobey those of which we did not approve. The tendency, often witnessed at the present time, of many of our people to sympathize with offenders rather than with public officials charged with the responsibility of bringing them to justice can hardly be explained on any other basis.

9. The environmental influence of a country of almost unlimited extent and enormous natural resources of all sorts. The problems of life in which as a pioneering people we have been from our early beginnings down to the present time most deeply interested have been those in which the chief factors were material facts and forces which we have sought to transform into products that would minister to our comfort and well-being. This fact has been a potent influence in directing the course of American education up to the present time. It has emphasized the discovery and dissemination of knowledge of those physical facts and forces necessary to the success of our industrial development. Enormous sums of money spent on scientific research in the United States, not only in our universities, but by the national and State governments and by industrial organizations, have been chiefly used to promote research in the physical sciences: physics, chemistry, biology, and engineering. Our remarkable success in this direction has in fact created the problems which now and in the future must engage an increasing portion of energy, both

in instruction and research. I refer to those problems which arise out of the pressing need of a better understanding of human nature and of more successful adjustment of human relations in the new civilization upon which we have entered.

The foregoing characteristics at least seem clearly fundamental in American life. Their relative importance as factors in determining the future and its educational requirements will doubtless undergo from time to time a certain amount of change, but these forces which seem to be inherent in our nature as a people are apparently permanent and likely to influence our development in the future in ways quite similar to those of the past. At any rate, leadership in our profession, if it is to give intelligent guidance in the present and future development of our system of education, will do well to concentrate thorough study upon these characteristics of our national life. To do otherwise would be to continue the mistakes that have too often been made in the past and are now in serious danger of being repeated. Our vision as educators must go much deeper than superficial happenings and spectacular demands of the moment if our service to education is to have real and permanent value. Indeed, failure to see the present situation as a whole, see it clearly in all of its important bearings, and appraise at their true value the forces both constructive and destructive that are at work may even result in a genuine disservice to our system of schools. At best our profession is at a disadvantage in its effort to give intelligent guidance in education as compared with such professions, for example, as engineering and medicine for the reason that the fundamental sciences on which it attempts to forecast the future are much less fully and perfectly developed than those upon which they depend. While the engineer may rest his advice to the public in dealing with the problems of his profession upon the well-developed and reliable contributions of mathematics and physics, and the physician very largely upon those of chemistry and biology; the educator must look chiefly to

the comparatively new and imperfectly developed sciences of psychology, sociology, economics, history, and government in his effort to forecast and intelligently direct future development in education. Nevertheless, even a superficial consideration of the fundamental characteristics and social forces to which I have invited your attention cannot fail, I believe, to reveal that education must and inevitably will go forward in spite of the temporary setback which it has recently received.

Present evidence is strongly in the direction that the demand for secondary and higher education on the part of the people of the United States will continue and that effort will be made to satisfy that demand so far as possible. Not only so; the rapidly growing demand for education and reëducation during adult life also promises to be a permanent feature. As already pointed out, the promotion of science, the rapid accumulation of tested knowledge, and the disposition to encourage scientific effort make it necessary for larger numbers of men and women to obtain a more extensive and more adequate higher education *than formerly was required in order that they may reach the outskirts of the known and be able to discover and apply scientific knowledge towards the solution of the numerous problems that will certainly arise.* Professions and semiprofessions as well as various other occupations are being rapidly multiplied and lower occupations are being graded upward. In every one of the original professions we now have a number of occupations each of which is itself a profession and requires more extensive and expert training than was true of the original professions ten or fifteen years ago. In addition to all this there is greater need than ever before for highly trained, broad-minded leadership in every phase of community life. For such leadership we must increasingly look to our higher institutions of learning to provide. Moreover, the ideal of democracy requires that if such leadership is to be appreciated and voluntarily and fully utilized by the rank and file of the people, a higher general education of the



masses will be necessary. The recent appearance and rapid development of junior colleges throughout the United States is obviously a movement in this direction. Hitherto our ideal of democracy has led to the provision of education at public expense for all children between the ages of six and twenty.

Improvements in elementary and secondary education now make it possible to complete the offerings of these schools even at the low age of fifteen or sixteen in the case of normal or superior children. Public education, therefore, provides at present for the superior child until he has completed the high-school course at the age of fifteen years or younger, while the dull and incompetent may continue in school at public expense until they are twenty or twenty-one. If we are to conserve and utilize to the fullest extent our human resources in the years that are ahead this defect must certainly be removed.

In our effort to give intelligent guidance to our schools in the future we must not overlook the fact that education as an institution must not be confused with education in its fundamental and inclusive meaning. A person is being educated in some direction and to some extent, however slight, by every experience through which he passes, by every life situation to which he makes an active response. In this sense, therefore, education must obviously be a shared responsibility. All agencies, both public and private, which determine to any extent the form and character of the situations to which individuals are exposed and must respond have a share in the total outcome. The whole burden cannot be placed upon the school. Any effort to place it there is a serious mistake. The tendency to do so, however, is easy and natural. In the public mind the school is the only institution established and maintained by society whose fundamental and only function is education. Other institutions are educative in their influence upon those who are exposed to them but education in their case is recognized as a secondary and subordinate function.

The school, then, as a social institution is a means to

an end. It is but an instrument more or less imperfectly adjusted to the purpose which it has been created to serve. That it may be made most efficient the conditions which determine the extent and character of its usefulness should be thoroughly studied by those who aspire to competent leadership in our system of education. Important among these conditions are the nature of the total obligation of education as a fundamental human interest under present and future conditions, the actual and possible influence of other social agencies which really share with the school in the total responsibility, the nature and extent of this influence in its relation to the total individual and social outcome of education, the school's proper place and its true relation to these other agencies, the extent and manner in which it should coöperate with them, its true place among them, its own proper function, what it should rightfully be expected to do, and what it should refrain from undertaking to do.

Certain local, temporary, and often superficial demands made by outside agencies upon the schools should be dealt with in an intelligent and foresighted manner. In the process of reconstruction and readjustment to the changing needs the two forces to which I have referred, one external and the other internal, must be critically studied and appraised in relation to their relative importance. In local communities certain external forces are generally more effective than they should be in their influence upon what is undertaken in the schools. Those units of our educational system which are most deeply immersed in the changing current of affairs, and consequently are nearest to the crises of adjustment which these currents produce, are more readily and fundamentally affected by external pressure than those which are more remote and secluded. If ready and increasing conformity to popular demand is to be interpreted as social progress, then the public elementary and high schools, contrary to popular opinion, have been more progressive during the present century than the institutions of higher learning. Their response to

external pressure has been more immediate and general. Whether, however, in any case the changes produced have been truly progressive depends largely upon whether the adjustments have been intelligently controlled by the internal administrative and instructional forces in charge of the schools.

In many cases our public schools may be justly criticized for having been too responsive to, and too uncritical of, the external popular demands that have been made upon them from time to time. They have not been sufficiently resistive of some of these demands. They have not always been guided as they should have been by a clearly defined and convincing educational policy to which such demands could be referred and in the light of which their adoption or rejection could be fully justified. New demands have often been met by simply adding courses to an already overcrowded curriculum without reconstructing the curriculum as a whole. When outside pressure for any such subject has become too strong and the popular group demanding its adoption too influential to be ignored or resisted, the situation has usually been met by simply adding a new course and employing a specialist to teach it.

Within recent years more intelligent efforts have been made by school officials to secure rational and integrated curricula which are better adapted to individual needs and to changing social conditions. The greater, more complex, and variable demands made upon the schools are being met with greater wisdom and more intelligent discrimination. With a rapidly advancing and better educated teaching profession the service of the schools can and must be greatly improved in the future. The next decade will undoubtedly see developed a much more efficient and satisfactory educational service all the way from kindergarten to university than anything we now have or have had in the past.

The desired outcome will not be doubtful, if the teaching profession throughout the Nation will face the situation with courage and intelligence and with a united purpose. It will take courage as well as greater wisdom than the

profession has generally shown in the past. Sympathetic and intelligent leadership will be required with better understanding of the conditions and influences within the school system as well as of those outside which determine the direction of educational progress and the limits to which the work and influence of the schools may rightly be carried. The general movement towards raising the standard qualifications for teaching, supervisory, and administrative service must be continued until those who are engaged in all forms of schoolwork not only have the needed personal qualities, but have also reached that standard of general and professional education and understanding of life which will convince the public at large that the management of the schools may be safely and wisely left in their hands.

## COLLEGE EDUCATION IN THE NEW AMERICA

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Higher education displays today a confusing and sometimes contradictory array of objectives. The ideal of the cultivated individual gentleman, carried over from an aristocratic nobility, still survives in our colleges. Today not title of nobility but title to wealth gives some their claim to graceful ease.

Democracy has modified the elementary schools profoundly and the higher schools in less degree. Its influence is shown in the admission of all, or nearly all, to whatever courses the high schools or colleges may be giving. An inevitable consequence, stressed often enough, has been the vulgarization of college academic life. Another consequence, equally serious but less well recognized, has been the lack of unity in the purposes of education. The "liberal" view calls for presentation of content divorced from any social goal. The school is supposed to be impartial and to represent all points of view fairly. If all citizens are to pay the bills, only that can be taught to which all citizens will agree. This becomes limited to the inconsequential: techniques and processes. The liberal rationalizes his formlessness by pointing out that this is a changing world and no man knows what the future may bring.

The college of today thus corresponds rather neatly to present society. Despite a pretense of equality of opportunity, gross injustice is tolerated. Despite a potentially high level of development, actual standards of life are sinking. Despite a pretense of unity, conflicting interests bring scattered efforts and dissipated values. A crisis approaches in the college as well as in our economic order.

The college of the future will, in the same way, reflect the society of the future. That society will certainly differ fundamentally from the civilization in which colleges have taken their traditional form. We may drift into some sort of Fascist régime in which the unity of the state is exalted

to make secure the privileges of the owning group. Some of the characteristics of higher education in a Fascist state we may deduce from developments in Italy, Germany, Austria, and Hungary. The objective ceases to be identified with the liberal, cultivated individual gentleman, and becomes the achievement of national destiny. Dedication to the glory of the state or the purity of the race serves to unify the people and to minimize whatever exploitation may have to be sanctioned. Higher education in a Fascist state will be limited to a favored few, and will be rigidly controlled to eliminate any subversive elements. Schools and colleges will be assigned the task of adapting students to their proper caste, making them content with their place, and so loyal to the nation that each will accept his lot and serve to the best of his ability. Some racial groups may be excluded entirely from the benefits of higher education and professional occupations.

The alternative to Fascism is a collective planning society in which the competitive private profit economy is supplanted by the scientific administration and democratic control of production and distribution. This coöperative commonwealth will be organized in accord with principles familiar in the American dream, but qualitatively different from those inherent in our present order. Transition to such a new American civilization will inevitably involve at some point a clear break with the past, and the beginning of a conscious attempt to remold our institutions in accord with the new society of production for use, service, and the enrichment of life.

If we choose the new America, then the college, along with other social agencies, must find new forms of work in accord with those new opportunities. The "gentleman's club" type of college will be as inappropriate as a blunderbuss. It will serve every useful worker, be he a farmer, factory worker, engineer, artist, physician, or teacher, to mention only a few. But it will serve the community, State, and Nation as well. The research laboratories of the college may be identical with those of industry, for both are agencies of public service. Factories can do part of our educational job when they cease to be run for private profit.

We may even look for new moralities, growing out of the new sense of social responsibility. Certainly graft and special privilege will be made as odious then as they are taken for granted today.

In this brief survey let us assume that the profit system has gone, and that in its place America has built the scientifically administered and democratically controlled economy. We may be forced through a purgatory of Fascism before we sight these promised shores, but somewhere ahead—drawing nearer with every crisis—lies the inevitable simplification and reconstruction. We will be able to have an abundance of goods for every family; jobs for every one who will work; security for every worker; genuine equality of opportunity.

Upon this new social foundation will rise a new education, as long and broad as life. Not the selection of a privileged few, but the enrichment of life for the many will control admission to all our schools. Adaptation to the needs of the many will call for varied methods, more vital and unified content, and, especially, competent guidance. Let us examine these changes in a little more detail.

Consider the present problem of limitation and selection. Who should be allowed to go to college at public expense? Some, concerned for intellectual standards, answer today, "Only the select few, who can profit by rigorous academic exercises." Others, concerned for the American tradition of equality of opportunity, resent the notion that college doors should be closed to any aspiring youth. It is easy to point out that intelligence tests and previous grades give a prediction of college success that rarely reduces by more than 25 per cent the errors which we would make if we chose by length of thumb-nail or numerology. The college of the future will present the issue in a different form—that of guidance. All youths, 18 to 22, will be able to spend some time in school if they desire to do so. So will all those under 18 and all those over 22. Democratic traditions point away from stratification, with separate schools organized for gifted, ordinary, and stupid. What we may expect will be programs suited to individual needs, organized within a single institution. Who

should learn typing and shorthand? Probably almost every one will find this a valuable addition to his equipment. How about Sanskrit? Very very few will ever find this helpful. Not more than one college in the country need offer such a unit. Yet that same college may well be offering other units, in the writings of Joyce, in clay modeling, in dialectic materialism, in tennis, in dress design, or the appreciation of a symphony, appropriate to the needs of thousands who are neither more nor less valuable citizens than the erudite Sanskrit scholar. Each may have his superiorities and his limitations.

The college will thus meet the problem of selection by including every one, and guiding each to units which will help him in his present stage of development. The college is not to be the guardian of "subjects" to which it admits the chosen few, but the guide of youth through the wealth of possibilities. In the past it assumed that its content was fixed; its students to be chosen to fit. In the future it will start with the students and choose a content to fit.

A second set of problems arise today in the field of method. A college, endeavoring to offer all the varieties of experience which will enrich living for young people, will find the framework of course and credits too rigid. Some units will need to run over several years; others may occupy only a few hours. Some can be done well enough by books and mechanical devices; others will require human contact and guidance. Some units will call forth a large measure of student self-activity; others will be initiated and carried forward by a teacher who is setting forth his own thinking while students try to follow. Thus, the college of the future can meet all comers in the arguments on method. There will be field trips, individual projects, co-operative group enterprises, discussions, lectures, reading, drill, and creative work. Each has its place to do a certain job. There will be no insistence that the method appropriate for one unit should therefore be adopted for others.

A third source of controversy in higher education today is the competition of important subjects for a foothold in the curriculum. We must safeguard health, prepare youth for leisure, equip for home-making, bring about good emo-



tional adjustments, train for useful jobs and professions, and develop effective citizens. Yet many believe that an educated man should also have read Plato, have mastered a foreign language, have sensed the breadth of new vitality in the Renaissance, be able to interpret index numbers without falling into statistical pitfalls, and should exhibit a pertinent vocabulary in clarity of discourse. We could list *important items over many pages*. College catalogues do. Every commencement might well be an occasion of regret, for certainly three fourths of the faculty must see in about three quarters of the candidates half-educated persons, not only ignorant of essentials, but poorly equipped ever to acquire the missing treasures. The small group of faculty members who would be reasonably satisfied in any one case could be more than offset by others who are keenly aware of deficiencies. In each case a different group of faculty members would approve, but, except for rare candidates, the satisfied group would always be a small minority of the instructional staff.

All this remains in spite of valiant endeavors to create a broad and liberal education. We have tried orientation courses, group elective systems, and honors courses. We have sometimes crowded the student schedule with curricular and extracurricular demands until life became incredibly hectic and unreal. Students have had to develop protective tricks; the truly conscientious would end in Bedlam.

Back of these many regrettable defects lies just one fact: College students do not have time enough to learn all that we want them to know. After all long overdue elimination of second-rate stuff from the curriculum, there will remain more that is vital, enriching, disciplinary, and socially essential than can possibly be digested in four years of higher education. The solution lies in the idea of continuous life-long education. The college years are not to be hastily crammed for a lifetime of cudchewing. Education requires assimilation as we go, a more leisurely learning. The endeavor of education in the early years of life will thus be more concerned with *how and why* students learn than with the content they have acquired. The psychological founda-

tions for many years of cultural growth must be laid. Students must learn the hunger for insight, the hard wrestle with uncompromising and indifferent facts, and the joy of artistic creation. The more vital the problems and activities which engage their attention during college years, the greater the likelihood that further learning will become indispensable.

A superb advantage of the college in the new America will be found in the wealth of opportunities for interaction between college experience and life outside. Today our colleges, with a few exceptions, tend to live apart from the real world. They have their own dormitories and dining rooms, their own workshops and playing fields, their own dances and religious services. In a better society this monastic isolation would be even less justifiable. Students will be working at real jobs while learning. Vocations will be taught not in classrooms, but in a collective, graduated apprenticeship under actual working conditions. In as wealthy a society as our new coöperative civilization will be, we can provide abundant travel for every citizen. Modern languages, ethnology, geography, international relations, the art and architecture of foreign peoples will be studied in actual visit and daily contact with other civilizations.

There will be no special recreational life for students—no parks or gymnasiums or theaters or concerts which cannot be shared with all the youth of the community. Even college teachers may become less curious and less deserving of the charge of schizoid theorizing. The brain trust is helping to build a new conception of the college teacher who can both lead and teach others how to lead. Projects of the college in our new industrial democracy will not end in term papers, but in the improvement of life in the community. This need mean no narrow practicality or utilitarianism. Integration of the college with a larger plan for a good society should mean a purer art, a more vital literature, a truer science, and a more adequate philosophy. Subjects, like Christians, may have to lose their lives to find life.

# EDUCATION OF TEACHERS FOR THE SCHOOLS OF TOMORROW

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Much has been said and written relative to the responsibility of education in preparing people to function in a changing social order. It has been suggested that the schools should help to build a better social order. I believe that those who expect the schools to make important contributions in either of these directions are doomed to disappointment unless and until certain fundamental reforms are accomplished in the selection and preparation of teachers. Granted that there are other problems demanding solution, such as those relating to the control and financing of public education, I believe that the problems concerned with the selection and education of teachers are of first importance.

Let us consider briefly the needs of the teaching service from the point of view of education for social reconstruction and then endeavor to face some of the problems connected with preparing teachers to meet these needs. If schools are to participate in building a better social order and if they are to prepare people to live and function in a better social order, those who teach must be persons of vision, courage, and intelligence who have been thoroughly equipped for their important responsibilities. Furthermore, they must be persons who will continue to grow so long as they remain in the teaching service. Until our schools are staffed with teachers meeting these specifications, it is futile to expect them to assume an active rôle in social reconstruction. When the schools are staffed with such teachers it will be impossible to prevent them from becoming a great positive factor in giving direction and impetus to social progress and development.

Our pattern for the education of teachers must be that of the highest type of professional education. At present teacher education is barely at the level of the semiprofessions. The following characteristics of education for the professions must become our guide in the development of programs of teacher education.

#### CAREFUL SELECTION OF ENTRANTS

At present we cannot escape the charge that second-rate people become teachers. Our teachers colleges and schools of education are filled with students who are there because they lacked what was required—brains, personality, or money—to permit them to prepare for a more highly favored profession. Of course, there are capable students along with the mediocre ones, and there are a few teacher-training institutions with reasonably high standards for admission, but the general indictment still stands.

The enormous vested interest in teacher training in the United States and the almost complete lack of leadership and authority in our State education departments have combined to prevent any effective steps towards an adequate selection of those who are to be admitted to preparation for the teaching service. There is quite general agreement upon the major factors which should be considered in selection. These are intelligence, scholarship, health, and personality. The difficulty is not lack of ability to make a selection on the basis of these or other qualities, but rather a lack of willingness on the part of the numerous institutions (approximately one thousand) now engaged in preparing teachers to restrict the number they will admit to the needs of the service. Probably this reform, as well as other needed reforms in this field, will not be effected until there is a thorough overhauling of the teacher-training program, which will greatly reduce the number of institutions engaged in the professional education of teachers, which will separate professional from general education, which will eliminate teachers colleges as independent vocational schools, making them instead professional schools of the universities in which they are located, and which will

eliminate the profit motive from teacher education as completely as it has been eliminated from medical education.

#### PREPROFESSIONAL EDUCATION FOR TEACHERS

Best practice in education for the professions recognizes the need for a broad background of general education before entering upon professional study. For no group of professional workers is this as important as it is for teachers. Yet we have consistently and persistently refused to provide it as part of the required preparation for teaching. At present the demand for new teachers has been low enough to make possible any academic and professional requirements which could be justified by the needs of the teaching service. In many sections of the country there is no satisfactory reason why there should not be a requirement of two years of college work, followed by three years of professional study, for certification for teaching.

If the period of preprofessional study is to serve its purpose there must be a careful selection of the courses and subject matter to be included. The professional school must not be permitted to dictate the preprofessional curriculum, thus making it merely an academic adjunct to professional study. The main purpose of the preprofessional curriculum should be to make the prospective teacher a well-educated person. The emphasis will be upon adult appreciations, attitudes, and perspective in literature, in the study of social, economic, and political problems, in science, and in the arts. Just as preprofessional education for engineering, medicine, law, and theology is being increasingly devoted to a major emphasis upon the social sciences, so with even greater emphasis must it be in preprofessional education for teaching. The teacher, potentially the greatest single force in social improvement, must be keenly aware of the social implications and responsibilities of his profession.

#### THE PROFESSIONAL CURRICULUM FOR TEACHING

In this brief treatment of the subject no attempt will be made to formulate in detail the professional curriculum for teaching. The attempt will be made, however, to indi-

cate certain lines along which professional curricula should be developed.

1. There should not be a high degree of specialization. For example, in the preparation of elementary teachers there would not be differentiated curricula for kindergarten-primary and for intermediate grade teachers. There would be one curriculum to prepare teachers for the elementary school. In curricula for the preparation of secondary-school teachers there would be no highly developed subject-matter majors. The aim would not be primarily to prepare English teachers, history teachers, and mathematics teachers, but to prepare teachers for the secondary school. Some slight degree of specialization would be necessary and desirable. For example, one person would be prepared especially in English, a foreign language, and the social studies, another in science, mathematics, and the social studies. Several considerations dictate this proposal. They are: (a) Placement problems indicate the desirability of general rather than highly specialized preparation for teaching. (b) A desirable degree of integration of subject matter and coördination of effort among teachers can be effected only through a broad rather than highly specialized preparation. (c) Subject-matter specialization may well be reserved for the period of in-service study when the teacher will know rather definitely the nature of his problems and needs and the extent of his teaching field.

2. Practically all of the study of educational theory, including educational psychology, should be a direct outgrowth of a long and rich laboratory-school experience. During the period of preservice preparation for teaching, all separate courses in educational theory may well be omitted, leaving to a well-prepared and adequate staff of laboratory-school instructors, which should include a school psychologist, the responsibility of presenting, in connection with problems and situations which will confront the student in his laboratory-school experience, all of the educational theory which he will need before actually entering the teaching service. There will come a time in the young teacher's experience when he will feel the need for a syste-

matic study of principles, psychology, or philosophy. This will be the proper time for him to undertake such a study, as part of his in-service professional education.

3. As in the preprofessional curriculum, major attention in the preparation of all teachers should be given to the social sciences. At present, teachers are practically illiterate relative to social, economic, and political problems. The situation will be corrected only by giving all teachers adequate preparation in this field.

#### PROFESSIONAL STATUS FOR TEACHERS

There are certain groups of educational workers in the United States which have attained a professional or near-professional status. These are college and university professors and school administrators and supervisors. Classroom teachers in public schools have never even approached a professional level. Recently there has been renewed agitation for teachers to unionize and become affiliated with organized labor. If they do this it will be because *professional recognition has not been granted to them*. Actually, teachers should be professional workers. There is no more reason why they should be affiliated with the American Federation of Labor than there is reason why the American Medical Association should be.

In the past, two major considerations have operated to prevent teachers from attaining a professional status. These are: (1) the low requirements for admission to teaching, and (2) autocratic, restrictive, and unjustifiable practices in public-school supervision. Earlier in our history there was some excuse for autocratic supervision. With poorly prepared teachers there was no other way to secure reasonably efficient performance. This type of supervision, however, should have been regarded as a temporary expedient to be employed only until such time as the qualifications of teachers could be elevated to a professional level.

Supervision, as we know it in education, has no place in a profession. A profession supervises itself through its

own coöperative effort. Supervision in the teaching profession should be restricted to the period of professional training and to the apprenticeship period. After the teacher has successfully passed through these stages he should be admitted to a professional status, capable of self-supervision and of aiding in the coöperative determination of the standards by which a profession regulates itself.

#### SUMMARY

I have tried to indicate some of the steps to be taken if teachers are to measure up to the responsibilities which seem to be rightfully theirs. All of these steps point towards patterning the education of teachers after the best theory and practice in education for the professions. These steps include: (1) a careful selection of candidates for admission to professional study; (2) two years of preprofessional education at the college level, with emphasis upon broad general education; (3) three years of professional preparation for teaching, with emphasis upon general rather than highly specialized preparation, and with emphasis upon the social sciences for all teachers; (4) in-service education as the proper period for specialization for all teachers; (5) increasing recognition of teachers as professional workers.



# THE HIGH SCHOOL IN COMPETITION

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The American high school has never been a democratic institution. To be sure it has not been the aristocratic school that is found in Europe but it has always been highly selective. We now have five or five and one-half million pupils enrolled but there are almost as many young people of high-school age who are not in school. In a very real sense the high school is not even open to those who are not now enrolled, for the simple reason that the offering is entirely unsuited to their needs and capacities. No one can assert, with any degree of assurance, that the high school will ever become a truly democratic institution and provide for all adolescents. But society must face the problem and solve it or we can be reasonably sure that the democratic ideal itself will fall upon hard times. Possibly the democratic ideal is on the toboggan, but we continue to give it lip service at least. For instance, each time the *Preamble of the Constitution* is repeated there is the chance that some new convert will get the idea that we actually mean it—that we actually hope to establish justice.

No one can assert with any degree of finality that the high school will take up the task of promoting the democratic ideal. Certainly many will stand on the assertion that it has always been democratic and that the pattern has become sufficiently distinct so that important reorganization is unlikely to take place. But let us examine the charge that the high school has never been democratic.

Space does not permit an analysis of the Latin grammar school and the academy—the forerunners of the high school—but possibly few would care to argue that either of these institutions was democratic in the modern sense. When the high school came along it gave great promise, just as the academy had given promise before it. The early high school was for those who were not headed for

a college education but it soon went the way of the academy, and actually outdid the academy in presenting a curriculum lacking in vitality and in social usefulness. The *public* high school accepted the domination of the colleges and universities and settled down to the drab purpose of maintaining a high scholastic standard. And the American public centered its attention on working out the details of the "great American dream," so ably defined by James Truslow Adams, and this busy, aggressive, successful American public scarcely paused in its kaleidoscopic economic ascent to give thought to the colossal blunder that was being enacted in their high school. The fact that pupils by the millions were being attracted to these schools was positive proof to a quantity-minded public that all was well. Anything that *sold* was sound, and was not education being sold to increasing millions? Had we made general application of this criterion of patronage, we would have found the reform schools, the jails and penitentiaries, and the sanitariums the *most successful* of our social institutions. As a matter of fact the forces that propelled pupils into the high schools and held them there were no less real than were the forces that filled the jails and the hospitals for the insane.

High-school authorities placed a halo around certain subjects—which might not have been so reprehensible in itself—but they insisted upon a content in these subjects that in only a small way touched upon the lives these pupils were living and were destined to live. Only mention need be made of the mathematics, the formal literature, the absurd emphasis on foreign language to convince any fair-minded observer of the total inadequacy of the offering from the point of view of the typical adolescent. Even the civics and history, which gave promise, studiously avoided a discussion of what was actually making government go. The standards presented in the high-school classroom were in no sense related to the standards of conduct in political and economic life. Many pupils would not, or could not, master this type of subject matter, so these pupils were abandoned to their own devices.

True it is that pupils who mastered such patter were the ones who secured social and economic preferment and to an extent such mastery contributed to the advancement of the individual politically. However, the American voting public has been singularly willing to elect to office the self-made man even though so many of these self-made men demonstrate that they are self-made. But little evidence has been produced to show that significant proficiency in any endeavor has been gained by completing the academic subjects of the high school. True, these subjects have provided selective hurdles so that college or office or shop material could be selected from the graduates. Any one who demonstrated sufficient stamina to complete high school possessed the qualities that the college or the office or the shop needs. The employment manager in *Chats in an Employment Office*<sup>1</sup> tells the prospective employee that he does not care much what he has taken in school or college. The colleges might have learned, for the evidence is abundant, that it does not make much difference what students "took" in high school—they do just as well in college with one pattern of admission subjects as with another. To be sure some colleges have learned this, but in general they have continued to prescribe for admission, and the high schools have continued to offer all the academic nonsense that has "proved" its respectability.

But possibly the crowning error of the high-school program was the acceptance of the individualistic approach to the problem of success. There is room enough at the top for all who are industrious and properly qualified, so the theory ran. And "at the top" meant pretty largely the economic top. Success was measured by wealth and with success or wealth went power and prestige. We turned out the home-town band for the home-town boy who returned with his first or his tenth million. We left unnoticed the home-town boy who had discovered a disease germ, or who had painted a beautiful picture, or who had devised a scheme for the improvement of local government.

<sup>1</sup>J. Edward Goss, *Chats in an Employment Office* (New York: Inor Publishing Company, 1934), p. 27.

Possibly he could not return home because of the expense involved and at best he could take advantage of excursion rates on one of the competing bus lines. The high-school faculty pointed with pride to the pictures of its "successful" graduates and they sent out increasing thousands determined to "succeed" at all costs.

Then came 1929 and with it the collapse of the splendid industrial machine. For the first time in our history we discovered that high-school graduation alone had little relation to "success." High-school and college graduates have been turned out in large numbers during the last few years only to find places in bread lines or on C.C.C. or C.W.A. or public-works rolls.

We have realized also that one half of the potential secondary-school population is not in school. But what is more significant is the fact that the one half outside the school have no jobs and are not likely to get jobs. Either they must attend school or they must loaf. If the schools continue their conventional offering many of this new fifty per cent might just as well loaf as attend school. Latin, algebra, formal history, and formal literature were never designed for them. A canvass indicates that the conservative or "safe" element has control of the social-studies offering of the high schools of the Nation, also that there are few teachers competent to lead any fundamental movement for reorganization.

Discouraging as the situation appears to be there is still no justification for the attitude of resignation. We hear that teachers and school people are not prepared to build a new social order, but do not forget that new social orders are being built all around us—in fact a new social order is springing up in our midst. Certainly we should help to give direction to the movement that is already under way. The need is urgent. We may or may not respond but the following type of school might play a significant rôle.

For the purposes of the present discussion we shall ignore the pupil who is to attend college. Possibly the present plan of high-school work will prepare him adequately for college. The evidence is rather conclusive that a bright

college prospect could spend the four high-school years playing a good game of tiddledywinks and even then carry the college work with some distinction.

Even the trade school may be performing its task fairly well for those who are qualified to get jobs in trades and in industry. But there remains the great horde—approximately one half of those of high-school age—for whom little or no provision is made at present.

Even though there are few reliable classified statistics on unemployment, we can be sure that millions of young men and young women under twenty-one years of age are looking for jobs or have been reconciled to permanent "leisure." Possibly the NRA codes will not become permanent—the codes that have prevented many young people from finding jobs—but certain we can be that if choices must be made between productive employment for minors or for those of advanced or middle age, the jobs should, and probably will, go to the adults. In other words, we are safe in maintaining that the half of the young people of secondary-school age who are not in school are either unemployed or should be unemployed. Some may argue that such a solution of the employment problem represents discrimination against youth. But either youth will be employed and age will not, or age will be employed and youth will not. But why not employ both groups? The answer seems rather obvious.

The unemployment figures indicate that there are some 13,000,000 persons at present unemployed. Add to this number some 10,000,000 young people who are now in school who will want jobs within the next ten years, and we have the astounding total of 23,000,000 persons who must be absorbed by our industrial machine within a decade. To be sure, many of these will enter industry as replacements, but, even so, the likelihood of securing conventional employment for any significant portion of the total is remote indeed. Especially is this conclusion evident when we recall that our present dilemma is caused by overproduction. At least we can all agree that we are facing an era of increased, even if forced, leisure for all, old and young.

This leisure of our people should be occupied largely by

education. Possibly such a conclusion is presumptuous but it seems to be logical. Perhaps education should not be expected to play such a dominant rôle—perhaps our past history does not warrant any such conclusion. But what better solution can society offer?

If our thinking binds us to the conventional school we can be sure that its offering will not appeal to this new clientele. But properly organized and presented the high-school offering can compete with the movies, the radio, the pool rooms, the bridge table, the saloon, the gang, the tabloid; better still, the properly organized offering will incorporate the best elements of all the competing educational and recreational agencies. But what a shift in emphasis such a reorganization will demand!

At least for this new fifty per cent we should at once discard the Carnegie unit. It never had any constructive part to play and for this new group it stands as a decided hindrance. For instance, when has a pupil completed a unit of reading the newspaper, or a unit of painting pictures that he wishes to paint, or a unit of going to the movies, or a unit of dancing, or a unit of writing and producing plays, or a unit of electing good student officers, or a unit of family or school marketing, or a unit of making himself personally attractive? A running account of these activities is better than the grades and marks and units that we record at present. Indeed some schools have already begun such a running account of activities of young people who are not enrolled in the formal sense as well as for those who are. When we can discard the unit the expansion of the school activities becomes an informal and natural development. Some schools actually award certificates and even diplomas to persons who complete certain of these informal activities. Of course, such a practice precludes any idea of graduation, as we ordinarily think of it, but pupils in large numbers have already discarded this idea and are coming back to high school after graduation for postgraduate work.

With schools freed from the restrictive influences of marks, and promotion, and units, and graduation, they can

then begin to think in terms of human needs. No charge is made here that some schools have not accomplished much along these lines, but schools that have made significant progress in this direction are so scarce as to be almost negligible.

Space does not permit a detailed discussion of the type of curriculum that the new school should have. The brief outline of the idea, as presented below, will appear to many as being "half baked." My answer to this charge is that our schools are at present moving in the direction indicated. This point is being elaborated elsewhere and will not be considered in this article. In a word, I am suggesting that all conventional subject departments be abandoned and at least four functional divisions be set up in their place. Of course, the functional divisions will not be mutually exclusive in their materials—just the opposite will be true. Practically all the activities will be mutually inclusive. The four divisions are: (1) beauty, (2) coöperative living, (3) material values, and (4) health.

Due to the mutuality of the divisions, undue significance should not be placed on the order of the above listing. Furthermore, no brief is presented for the terms used. Many schools will, and should, select quite different terms and classifications.

I place first in the listing of divisions that of *beauty*. Much of the pupil's time each week should be spent in discovering ways in which beauty may be created and enjoyed. This means that he will be engaged in such activities as costume designing, home decoration, landscaping, metal work, woodwork, leather work, carving; trips to museums, to the theater, to concerts; reading of books and newspapers; dancing, swimming, rowing, horseback riding, walking; the writing and production of plays; singing, playing of instruments, and listening to the radio. Hundreds of ways will come to mind that will literally fill the lives of millions with beauty as they have never sensed it before—beauty that will give them a "life work" even if they have to live their lives on a dole.

In the division of *coöperative living* pupils will prepare

and serve their own meals, they will organize games and excursions, they will repair their books and build their own furniture, they will organize their own courts, print their own papers, read how mayors are elected and how international affairs are conducted, why strikes are called, elect their own officers, and conduct their own affairs. In other words, they will begin to realize how best to live in a collectivistic society.

In the third division, that we shall call *material values*, they will study taxation, or, better still, how services are provided. They will study about jobs and the responsibilities of employment. They will examine nationally advertised articles on the market and the claims made for each, testing these claims against actual accomplishment. They will learn how the necessities are produced and transported. They will experience what is meant by a "fair return" for labor and capital.

The fourth and last division will deal with *health*—mental, physical, and moral. Diets, fresh air, housing and slum clearance, medical care and hospitals will all come under their observation. Pupils who need exercise will get it; those who need more sleep will be encouraged to sleep even during school hours. Contagious diseases, garbage disposal, street cleaning, lighting, crime, and correction—all these and many others—will be investigated in terms of modern science and human necessity.

Much of the work and activity outlined above would take place *outside the school*. The summer vacation, if continued at all, would merely offer opportunities for somewhat greater freedom of action. The school would become a coordinating agency for building worthy human beings. Much progress has already been made in such coordinating activity.<sup>2</sup>

Throughout all the work of the four divisions emphasis would be placed on action, doing, being rather than upon studying. Lessons would never be learned because teachers believe they should be, but because pupils wish to learn

<sup>2</sup>See "Study of the Relations of Secondary and Higher Education in Pennsylvania," Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, New York City, 1929-1931.



them. And in all the action, doing, being, much attention would be given to hobbies. A boy who wishes to spend the morning working on his stamp album would be encouraged to do so. Another boy who wishes to spend the morning completing an historical novel that he is reading might be encouraged to do so. Some girls would be encouraged to spend much time in the school's beauty shops and in the sewing and cooking and art shops. Boys and girls who may be interested in spending much time in producing a school or community newspaper will be encouraged to do so. Yes, instruction must be placed on the individualized basis or on the small-group basis, but many schools have succeeded in doing this already, so we need not work out new techniques on this score.

The final move that will win popular support is to throw this entire program open to interested adults in the community. Well, why not? Why should secondary education end at eighteen?

Truly, the old-line teacher or administrator is alarmed at the thought of the confusion that will ensue if such a plan is adopted. Possibly no such plan will be adopted. Possibly we shall decide to harass these young people with "pure" knowledge, force them to study and fail them when they do not progress as rapidly as *we* think they should. Possibly we shall continue to send the truant officer after them when they rebel and remain at home, and possibly we shall ultimately decide that our job is to embitter such a significant portion of our population that they will ultimately vote the school out of existence as utterly useless and a waste of public money. The fight is on! Shall we bury our heads in the academic sands or shall we stand for a new form of social justice—a democratic high school?

# HISTORY'S DILEMMA IN THE MODERN WORLD

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## I

Crisis and panic are kin. Crisis we have recently had with us. The precursors of panic have been abroad. Wherever men lingered in talk—whether in the hushed atmosphere of a club lounge or in the noisy haze of a pullman smoker—conversation turned to the depression and communism, to Manchuria and war. There was heated debate, threatening bluster, grave shaking of heads. But discussion died with the sense of its futility. Withdrawn into the cloak of their thoughts, men stared vacantly through the smoke of their pipes. Anxiety was written on their faces. Beneath anxiety was fear. Fear of what? Fear of the unknown—the unknown that bears down upon us as the future. And fear is the precursor of panic.

Man has always been bewildered in times of crisis. Man's inability to live with the present and face the future when the going is hard is a curious phenomenon. Its explanation is perhaps largely psychological. Man's fundamental psychological need is a sense of security. We cannot stop to analyze this need as it colors man's behavior and social relationships. But we are learning that individuals who labor under a sense of insecurity are prone to crack mentally, to become neurotic and psychotic. In times of crisis, nations, and mankind at large, labor under a sense of insecurity and are prone to collective hysteria that often verges on madness.

The advance of civilization has, paradoxically enough, at once decreased and increased man's sense of insecurity. Man's life from day to day is more secure than ever before. But the very social interdependence which has made man's daily life more secure has made crisis more far-reaching. Man finds himself a passive spectator at human events with which his security is bound up but which he is unable to

control. As a consequence he clings to the *status quo* which is the accumulating past, and faces a future which promises unpredictable change with foreboding.

The biological specialization which has created man perhaps makes this inevitable. Evolution for man has meant the specialization of intelligence. This specialization of intelligence has increased the scope of man's imagination. Imagination enables man to project himself into the future, and increases his fear of its uncertainties. Consequently, man has come to idealize the past. Nature has abetted this idealization of the past by giving to man's memory a peculiar selective factor which represses those aspects of the past which are unpleasant.

The observation of man's superficial attitudes may seem to contradict this. "Victorian" and "old fashioned" are derogatory epithets. There was until recently much fanfare about the marvels of the machine age. But when we penetrate to man's underlying values we find them hoary with antiquity. A discolored marble unearthed on an Athenian hillside is per se a work of art. The classics of literature are generations, even centuries, old. Philosophy keeps an eternal intellectual fire burning before the tombs of Aristotle and Plato. Adventure died with piracy and the frontier. A man's children do not live to see his bust in the hall of fame.

We rationalize the fact that our values derive from the past by talking of perspective and the winnowing effect of time. But beneath this rationalization, frequently distorting all perspective, is man's emotional need for the past which is tried, known, and certain. Occasionally there arises a hardy soul like Herbert Spencer who can smack his lips complacently as he looks into the future. But more typical of humanity is Winwood Reade's despair, in his *Martyrdom of Man*, as he is confronted by the idea of perpetual change, even though that perpetual change be labeled "progress."

This sense of insecurity in the present, and of doubt of the future, is as characteristic of our intellectuals as of the man in the street (the object upon which it is projected being the destiny of man and the cosmos, instead of the

threat of communism and Japanese imperialism). A few of our intellectuals can look at the unfolding present with the satirical detachment of Aldous Huxley in *Brave New World*. The majority can only pour upon it, as does Everett Dean Martin in *The Conflict of the Individual and the Mass in the Modern World*, the vituperation of a tortured mind.

I have called the modern state a new church; in a sense I think I have shown that it is. But I fear that such a comparison is very unfair to the medieval church; for what a church this new one is: a soulless mechanism to which men look for redemption of the world and salvation from themselves; its creed the teachings of Rousseau; its priesthood the professional politician; its acolyte the policeman; its offering the income tax; its litany the party campaign; its communion the exercise of the vote; its sacrament the baptism of war; its Heaven business prosperity passed around; its dreaded hell its own logical end in the dictatorship of the proletariat; and its God the self-idolatry of "the people" as a mass.

Always there is the same distrust of the present, the same backward look.

This inability to live with the present and to face the future is increasingly characteristic of man's intellectual progress. It leads to an emotional absorption in the past, or to withdrawal into a world that is the creation of the imagination. Either is the precursor of insanity. If man cannot learn to live with the present, looking to the future rather than to the past, the end product of man's evolution may well be a community of madmen. These psychotic symptoms are evident in the behavior of our philosophers. On the one hand, we find them engaged in a cosmic chess game, with universals for pawns and the absolute for king, living in a world as unreal as that of the schizophrenic in a psychopathic hospital. On the other hand, we find them at a seance in Plato's mystic cave, sitting with their backs to the outlook on the present, while they watch the shadows of the past on the wall.

## II

We have said that certain fundamental needs of man's psychological make-up may account in part for his distrust of the future and his emotional ties to the past. But as

modern psychology learns more of the extraordinary malleability of human nature, of the power of man's experiences to fashion his attitudes and outlook on life, one begins to question whether man's education may not have much to do with his sense of insecurity. Education has had much to do with the tempering of the modern mind. Education may in large part be responsible for the retrospective attitude of our civilization.

It is difficult to characterize education. On the surface one encounters many conflicting currents. But beneath the surface, untroubled by the eddying currents of modern thought, flows the sluggish stream of our underlying values, muddied with the stagnant intellectual marshes of the middle ages, from its ultimate sources in the hills of Athens and Galilee. The flavor of our education is brackish with the past—but from long familiarity we have become accustomed to its taste.

Our colleges and universities, prideful in their medieval tradition, still build their curricula around the classics, and hold up as desirable intellectual detachment from the turmoil of the present. In philosophy, letters, and the arts, even in science, young minds must begin with learning what men have done in the past. The great are men who have lived, not the living. Importance attaches to events that have occurred, not to those which are occurring. Values have been tried by time. The good life has been lived. Continuity and historical perspective are the twin keys to understanding. The present, as a consequence, comes to be seen as the accumulated past rather than as the emerging future. The intellectual attitude becomes one of critical detachment rather than of active participation.

The majority of our secondary schools are little more than college-preparatory schools, their curricula determined by entrance requirements. History, largely medieval and ancient; languages, largely the Latin classics; English, back to Chaucer and *Beowulf*; and mathematics—these form the bulk of our secondary education. Catching minds younger, the high schools mold them into a social and ethical conservatism that is not even tempered with the critically detached

attitude the college strives to achieve. This conservatism becomes the intellectual capital of the mass of men who never enter the cloisters of our universities.

No one who has seriously weighed our educational process and the values which it creates can doubt that it must be held in large measure responsible for our backward-looking habit of mind. Education, which should prepare man for life, fails signally to prepare him for the constant change that is living. It fails because it is dominated by history—history which promised man an understanding of his relationship to the universe and has left him with distrust of his destiny.

### III

It has recently been proposed that we burn all our libraries and declare a generation's moratorium on teaching children to read as the only corrective for our emotional dependency upon the past. The corrective would no doubt prove worse than the condition it sought to correct. But such a radical proposal, made in some seriousness, calls attention to the dilemma by which history is faced: the necessity of throwing the present into intelligible perspective, and at the same time of freeing man from his obsession with the past.

It may be objected that if the historian seriously undertakes to solve this dilemma he becomes a mental hygienist to civilization, and abandons his primary function as historian, that of presenting man with a true account of the past. But history has never presented man with a true account of his past. No historian could encompass the past as it occurred; no library could provide shelf space for its record. Selection is inevitable in the presentation of historical material. The most honest selection involves distortion.

Walter Lippman has well stated this problem, in the dialogue between "Americanist" and "Scholar" in his *American Inquisitors*.

*Americanist:* I don't believe the historians know what they mean when they say the criticism of history textbooks should be based only

upon grounds of faithfulness to fact. What facts, for example, ought they to be faithful to?

*Scholar:* Those which are determined by specialists and tested by the consideration of the evidence.

*Americanist:* The facts about any historical event are very numerous, are they not?

*Scholar:* Very numerous indeed.

*Americanist:* All the facts about George Washington, for example, would include the facts about his ancestry, his education, his character, his social position, his income, his political connections, his personal relations, as well as the chronicle of public events in which he participated. His conduct at any particular juncture must have been the resultant of very complex forces. Do you describe all these forces in your textbooks?

*Scholar:* That is obviously impossible. There are too many, and some are obscure. It is necessary to select the significant ones.

*Americanist:* And by what criterion do you select the significant ones?

*Scholar:* That depends on the historian's philosophy of history. There are a number of schools of historical writing.

*Americanist:* Such as . . .

*Scholar:* There is a school which lays particular emphasis on the influence of great men. That is a bit old-fashioned today. There is a school which emphasizes the racial factor, and another which emphasizes the economic, and another the social, and another the ideological.

*Americanist:* Which of these is the true history?

*Scholar:* That depends on which school you belong to.

The writing of history has always involved selection and interpretation, and consequently distortion of the past. The historian's problem is not to give man a true account of his past, but to give man a useful account of his past. In facing its present dilemma, history must reëvaluate the criteria against which it judges the significance of past events.

As history has become a profession, and historians have talked of the scientific spirit in the writing of history, there has been a tendency to derive these criteria from logic and the reflective processes of the historian, to interpret history in the light of the patterns into which past events seem to the historian to fall. Hegel, for example, after presenting this problem, concludes that "history presents us with a rational process" as it reveals itself in the world. Croce and Spengler find different patterns in past events, set different interpretations upon them. But by and large "scientific" history is concerned with history's usefulness to man only insofar as it may be a happy by-product of scholarship.

Carl Becker, in his presidential address of a year ago to the American Historical Association, calls for a corrective to this attitude, and presents the usefulness of history in meeting the problems of the day-by-day present as the *fundamental criterion for the selection and interpretation of historical materials.*

We do not impose our version of the human story on Mr. Everyman; in the end it is rather Mr. Everyman who imposes his version on us—compelling us, in an age of political revolution, to see that history is past politics; in an age of social stress and conflict, to search for the economic interpretation. If we remain too long recalcitrant, Mr. Everyman will ignore us, shelving our recondite works behind glass doors rarely opened. Our proper function is not to repeat the past, but to make use of it. . . .

Ranke's formula, "as it happened," safeguarded by the critical methods of the scientific school, presents man with a history that is sterile and useless. Useful history must be written to meet the needs of living men; every age must have a different history suited to its form and needs. This criterion alone will make the historian's necessary selection and interpretation of materials a valid one.

#### IV

If history is to serve man's ends, then, it must redefine its problem with each generation as the organization of the facts of the past relevant to the needs of the present, and the interpretation of those facts in terms of the needs of the present. History has failed the present generation in both respects. The great majority of the facts it has offered us are totally irrelevant to our needs, while vast areas of relevant fact find no place in the history that fashions growing minds. Moreover, the interpretation of these facts has grown out of the interests of historians rather than out of the needs of our generation.

We have said that man's greatest need today is a sense of security in the present and an ability to face the future with confidence. We have intimated that this need is the result of an emotional dependency upon the past. How can history, which broadly defined is the core of education, contribute to freeing us from the shackles of the past?



There are at least five fallacies in man's mental outlook upon his relationship to the present that a reorganization of historical fact and educational emphasis would help to dispel: the belief in continuity and evolution in social change; the belief that the future is the projection of the past; the belief that man can learn from the experiences of the past the solution of the problems of the present; the belief that the golden age of man's existence lies in the past; and the belief that there are absolute, unchanging values.

History is perhaps not to blame for our belief in social evolution. Every generation has its intellectual vogue. Two generations ago the vogue was evolution. The discoveries of Darwin gave man a new conception of his organic relationship to the universe. It was inevitable that he should seek to string all the phenomena of his existence on the scarlet thread that had given meaning to his biological development. The evolutionary nature of all phenomena was assumed. That this assumption was purely analogical was seldom realized. The evolution of social forms and structures was assumed to be as real as the evolution of biological structure. History all too uncritically adopted and fostered this belief.

Anthropological research has shown the supposed evolution of social organization to be a mirage. As Dewey has pointed out, the only law of human history is that of change. Social forms change, but the attempt to read into social change an evolutionary pattern is fruitless. The recognition of this fact makes history's insistence on continuity a formal, if not a specious, thing. There is a metaphysical continuity in human history in the sense that every event is preceded by another event, and followed by still another event. There is a surface continuity in the history of political structure. But if we turn our backs upon metaphysical theory, and penetrate beneath the superficial patterns of human development, we find beneath only change—change that resolves into no intelligible configurations, change that is disorderly and disjointed, change that conforms more closely to William James's conception of chance than to any logical conception of causation.

A history content with a phenomenal rather than a meta-physical continuity in human events, pointing out to us that there are unpredictable changes in the course of civilization that are the result of human activity to be sure, but are in no significant way dependent upon the past, would do much to change our attitude towards the present and the future.

Hendrik Van Loon has well stated the implications of this point of view.

What exactly has history taught me that I am able to retain my faith in the future? . . . History has taught me that we have not yet begun to live. . . .

The "we" refers of course to the human race. The reptiles and the fishes and those other relatives of ours who ruled this planet for so many million years before we ourselves made our first appearance are, for the moment at least, left out of the picture. They can write their own history if they care to. Neither shall I indulge in vague speculations about the antiquity of man. I am writing for the people of today and talking about the civilization of the year of grace 1932. That particular form of civilization did not begin when Rome fell or when Christianity was transferred from Asia to Europe. It did not start when Martin Luther defied the pope nor when Columbus sailed across the ocean and caused a financial panic in Europe which was almost as disastrous to that unfortunate continent as the present reparations muddle. That particular form of civilization dates back just 163 years and it commenced the day James Watt obtained his patent for the so-called "fire machine" which was to become the father of all those animated tools with which man, since then, has made himself the undisputed master of the inanimate world.

That famous (or infamous, if you feel so inclined) 5th of January of the year 1769 was the line of demarcation between old and new. It made Napoleon the contemporary of Caesar and reduced the Paris of the sun-like King Louis to the Babylon of the sun-like King Hammurabi. . . .<sup>1</sup>

If history would teach us that the future is more than the mere projection of the past, that the present is not inevitably determined by past events, that at unexpected times and places civilization is reborn and may be undergoing a rebirth today, that as in the past so today our activities may reshape the whole course of human development—if history would teach us these simple truths it would do much to give us a feeling of security in the present and of faith in the future.

<sup>1</sup>Hendrik Van Loon, "Philosophy of History: An Answer to Doubts," *New York Herald Tribune*, January 3, 1932.

A selection and reinterpretation of historical material from this point of view would also shake us out of our habit of looking to the past for solutions of the problems of the present. As Hegel long since said:

. . . what experience and history teach is this—that peoples and governments never have learned anything from history, or acted on principles deduced from it. Each period is involved in such peculiar circumstances, exhibits a condition of things so strictly idiosyncratic, that its conduct must be regulated by considerations connected with itself, and itself alone. Amid the pressure of great events, a general principle gives no help. It is useless to revert to similar circumstances in the past. *The pallid shades of memory struggle in vain with the life and freedom of the present.*

This lesson, well learned from history, might of itself break the shackles that bind us to the past. Whatever the significance of communism as a social way of life, it is more than chance that it eventuated out of the application of a Hegelian dialectic to our social problems.

If to this lesson were added the shattering of the fallacy of the golden age, our emotional absorption with the past would be largely dispelled. We have noticed that there is a selective factor in man's memory that tends to eliminate the unpleasant aspects of past experience. Faced with difficult life situations, the neurotic relives in memory a glorified version of his childhood. Faced with uncertainty, mankind is prone to a similar regression into a golden if fictitious past, and a consequent distortion of the values of the present. History has fostered this tendency by weaving the stirring sequences of political events, not into the context of the actual social life of the time, but into a veneer of that social life at once glamorous and picturesque.

If instead of presenting us with the pomp and panoply of the ages, history presented us with man's daily life as he lived it, we should soon be disillusioned with the past.

Many have thought that in Athens during the fifth and fourth centuries human life attained a degree of balanced harmony which has never since been matched. And there is much to render the estimate plausible. Yet there is a large part of illusion even in the most valid grounds of that estimate. . . . It may be doubted whether the most fervid worship of the Hellenic spirit would not suffer some *disillusion* from prolonged contact with the actual conditions of Hellenic life. Could he be transported to the Athens of Pericles, the modern dis-

ciple who enjoys the priceless gift of her inspiration would enter an extremely dirty little Levantine town. As he picked his way along the unpaved lanes over scattered refuse he would be blinded with dust, his gorge would rise at the smells wafted to his nostrils from dingy booths adorned with fly-soiled strings of onions hanging in the sun. In the square, low hovels, with the dunghill heaped by the fig tree at the side, he would find no home, no comfort. Old Euripides, who lives like a troglodyte in his cave at Salamis, turning there with disgust at a desolating world, is considerably better housed than most Athenians. It is not to the material conditions alone that our Hellenist would need to become acclimatized. Existence is by no means a state of peaceful contemplation in the graves of Akademe. Those immortal products of Greece, those Platonic dialogues, those Aeschylean plays, that Parthenon, those Pheidias figures, that thought, that art, that poetry, whose pacifying serenity seems to breathe the spirit of a divine calm, were wrought under conditions which we should regard as a Reign of Terror. . . .

And if that be true of the culture which has with greater justification been regarded as the high-water mark of man's adjustment to life, what other phase in human evolution may claim to have stood higher than the present? . . . Neither the Florence of Dante, nor the Rome of Cellini, nor the Paris of the Valois and the St. Bartholomew, nor Tudor London, where the shadow of the tower and the block lay over the life of every great one, and that of the gallows across that of every poor, nor the century of the Roi Soleil when every light of free intelligence was imprisoned in the dungeons of omnipotent ignorance and intolerance, or hiding in Holland, appears to offer a more desirable abode to the human spirit that chafes at the follies and injustices of the present day and levels cheap scoffs at the conception of "progress." How many would consent to step back even into that prim and lettered mid-Victorian world that lies almost within our memories?<sup>2</sup>

It is true that here and there historians have muckraked the past. But they have rarely interpreted this social history in terms of our present problems, and their data have not found a place in the history which gives the man in the street his conception of the past.

Finally, would history but teach us that values are the things that men in a given time and place hold desirable, and that, since human nature changes, the values of yesterday will not of necessity function as values today, our emotional emancipation from the past might be well-nigh completed. Absolutism in values has been the holy grail of man's intellectual quest. The belief in absolute values contributes more than any other factor to our insecurity in the present and distrust of the future. When the social

<sup>2</sup>Robert Briffault, *Rational Evolution* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1930), pp. 273-276.

organization through which our values function seems threatened, we are filled with resentment and fear, and envisage the future as the Hun descending upon the eternal city.

If the history we are taught dealt less with the political ambitions of dynasties and more with the cultures of peoples, if it were interpreted from an ethnological point of view, this delusion might be dispelled. Modern studies in ethnology and culture history confirm Pascal's observation that ". . . there is hardly an idea of justice or injustice which does not change with climate. Three degrees of latitude reverse all jurisprudence. The meridian decides the truth. The entrance of Saturn into the sign of the lion marks the origin of a certain crime. Wonderful justice which is bounded by a river! Truth this side of the Pyrenees, error on that!" Values do not exist *in vacuo*. They are never independent of time, place, and custom. They are meaningless apart from their historical, geographical, and cultural context.

For values are no more than the cultural definition of our wishes. The philosopher can escape this cultural definition no more than the man in the street. Values are inextricably tangled with the skein of human desires. Human desires are constantly being reformulated with changing conditions of life. Values can have no permanency, nor is it desirable that they should have. The more clearly we recognize this fact, the less catastrophic will we find change, the less threatening the future.

## V

We do not contend that a different history, a history planned to meet our present emotional needs, would solve our problems and transform the world in which we live into a Utopia. But we do contend that such a history might free us to attack our problems and to work out a constructive relationship to the present—if it were taught in the spirit in which it was written.

The teaching of such a history would begin with the events that transpire around us, would take always its

point of departure from the present, would use the past only in interpreting the meaning of the present, would emphasize at every step that in the present we are making the history of the future. Such a history, in the school, would lose its identity in the social studies, would be a point of view in approaching an understanding of contemporary life rather than a subject matter to be studied for itself.

A history so taught would raise a storm of protest from professional historians. But such a history would teach a rising generation that their lives are fraught with significance because they are makers of a history that derives its meaning from the emerging future. Let *Clio's* old admirers shake their heads over their palimpsests if they must. After all, the meaning of living inheres in the attitudes we take towards life. The documentation of the past for the sake of that documentation contributes little to a constructive outlook on life. The interpretation of the past in terms of the emotional needs of the present might contribute much—security in the present, confidence in the future, an original relationship to the universe.

The next generation must achieve such an original relationship to the universe if it is to work out its salvation. Our own generation, harboring fear in its breast, can but impotently grope among the dusty bones of the past and hope with Mark Sullivan that "this depression will end in due course, and that subsequently there will be a new cycle of prosperity, that throughout it all this country will continue to be the same old U. S. A.—the same old country, and a pretty good country at that." But only fools and minor prophets obsessed with the past can fail to see that there are impending changes in our social organization without precedent in history, changes that must be faced with emotions unwarped and minds unshackled if we are to avoid catastrophe, both material and spiritual.

# INDEX TO VOLUME VII

September 1933 to May 1934

- Activity Program in the Newark Schools from a Mental-Hygiene Point of View, The.** By Helen Trolan, 329.
- Adult Education.** By Morris E. Siegel, 323.
- Allen, Grace E.** Individualized Method and Character Education, 254.
- American Education, What's Ahead in.** By John W. Withers, 545.
- Athletes on Certain Character Studies, The Effect of.** By J. L. Hackenberg, E. B. Yeich, and L. A. Weisenfluh, 264.
- Atkins, Russell C.** Tuskegee's Vocational Program for Men, 175.
- Austria, The Crisis of Education in.** By Paul L. Dengler, 291.
- Beche, Robert O.** Vocational Education: From the County Standpoint, 412.
- Boardman, Rhea Kay.** The Transition from Home to School, 371.
- Book Reviews,** 144, 209, 273, 334, 400.
- Campbell, Don W., and Stover, G. F.** Teaching International-Mindedness in the Social Studies, 244.
- Campbell, Harold G.** Vocational Education: From the City Standpoint, 412.
- Campbell, T. M.** Carrying Education to the People, 190.
- Carver, Arthur H.** What Public Schools Can Do for Workers in Industry, 280.
- Character Education: See** Charles C. Peters; James C. Swab and Charles C. Peters; George A. Eichler and Robert R. Merrill; E. K. Robb and J. F. Faust; Elizabeth B. Meek; Don W. Campbell and G. F. Stover; Alice K. Milson; Elmer W. Cressman; Grace E. Allen; F. R. Knies, E. K. Robb, and E. A. Glaffelter; J. L. Hackenberg, E. B. Yeich, and L. A. Weisenfluh; Charles C. Peters.
- Child Guidance: See** Louise May Snyder; Mildred L. Fisher; Herbert D. Williams; Rhea Kay Boardman; Helen Trolan; Lois A. Meredith.
- Civic Education, Patriotism and the Selection of Values for a Phase of.** By Earle L. Hunter, 122.
- Clark, William A.** Does Negro Education Pay? 163.
- College Education in the New America.** By Goodwin Watson, 563.
- Commercial Vocational Education.** By Paul S. Lomax, 442.
- Continuation Schools, The.** By J. Ritchie Stevenson, 447.
- Cressey, Paul G.** The Motion Picture as Informal Education, 504.
- Cressman, Elmer W.** Workbook Versus Oral Instruction, 250.
- Criteria or Standards of Educational Value with Special Reference to Woodworking, A Discussion of.** By Fred Strickler, 117.
- Curriculum for Children at Home, A.** By James S. Tippet, 299.
- Curriculum Revision, Advances in.** By Ronald W. Kent, 456.
- Davidson, Helen H., and Kulp, Daniel H., II.** Sibling Resemblance in Social Attitudes, 133.
- Dengler, Paul L.** The Crisis of Education in Austria, 291.
- Direct Instruction, The Effect of.** By E. K. Robb and J. F. Faust, 237.
- Doyle, Bertram W.** The Introductory Course in Sociology in Negro Colleges and Universities, 30.
- Editorials.** By David Snedden, 85; by E. George Payne, 149; by Charles C. Peters, 213; by Junius L. Meriam, 277; by Harvey W. Zorbaugh, 341; by Ralph E. Pickett, 405; by Frederic M. Thrasher, 469.
- Education of Teachers for the Schools of Tomorrow.** By Abnzo F. Myers, 569.
- Eichler, George A., and Merrill, Robert R.** Can Social Leadership Be Improved by Instruction in its Technique? 233.
- Experiments in Formal Education, I. Block Recreation Project.** By Frank Kaplan, 516; II. The Penny Game Room. By Abraham Goldfeld, 520.
- Fairchild, Henry Pratt.** The Introductory Course in Sociology in the Universities and Colleges of the Northeast Area, 9.
- Faust, J. F., and Robb, E. K.** The Effect of Direct Instruction, 237.

- Findings on the Present Status of the Introductory Course in Sociology and Conclusions, Summary of. By Cecil C. North, 68.
- Fisher, Mildred L. Measured Differences Between Problem and Non-problem Children in a Public-School System, 353.
- Fox, John F. Leisure-Time Social Backgrounds in a Suburban Community, 493.
- Garwood, L. E. The Introductory Course in Sociology in the Protestant and Nonsectarian Colleges of the West, Middle West, and South, 18.
- Gettys, Warner E., and Reinhardt, James M. The Introductory Course in Sociology in State Universities and Large Endowed Universities of the West, Middle West, and South, 12.
- Glatfelter, E. A., Kniss, F. R., and Robb, E. K. The Results of the Incidental Method of Instruction in Character Education, 259.
- Goldfeld, Abraham. Experiments in Informal Education. II, The Penny Game Room, 520.
- Hackenberg, J. L., Yeich, E. B., and Weisenfuh, L. A. The Effect of Athletics on Certain Character Studies, 264.
- Harap, Henry. Planning the Curriculum for Leisure, 308.
- Hawkins, Layton S. The Functions of Analysis, 461.
- Heningburg, Alphonse. The Relation of Tuskegee Institute to Education in the Lower South, 157.
- High School in Competition, The. By Forrest E. Long, 575.
- History's Dilemma in the Modern World. By Geraldine Zorbaugh and Harvey Zorbaugh, 584.
- Homemaking Education. By Marion S. Van Liew, 439.
- Hunter, Earle L. Patriotism and the Selection of Values for a Phase of Civic Education, 122.
- Huppeler, Valeria K. The Introductory Course in Sociology in the Catholic Colleges and Universities, 26.
- Incidental Method of Instruction in Character Education, The Results of the. By F. R. Kniss, E. K. Robb, and E. A. Glatfelter, 259.
- Individualized Method and Character Education. By Grace E. Allen, 254.
- Industrial-Arts Education. By Gar-ton K. Wagar, 452.
- Industrial Education. By Joseph M. Sheehan, 436.
- International-Mindedness in the Social Studies Teaching. By Don W. Campbell and G. F. Storer, 244.
- Junior High School, The Teaching of Courtesy in the. By Alice K. Mil-son, 249.
- Juvenile Delinquency. See Frederic M. Trasher; Paul Lublinsky; John F. Fox; Paul G. Cressey; Frank Kaplan; Abraham Goldfeld.
- Kaplan, Frank. Experiments in In-formal Education. I. Block Recre-ation Project, 516.
- Kent, Ronald W. Advances in Cur-riculum Revision, 456.
- Keller, Franklin J. Vocational Edu-cation for Leisure, 464.
- Kniss, F. R., Robb, E. K., and Glat-felter, E. A. The Results of the Incidental Method of Instruction in Character Education, 259.
- Kulp, Daniel H., II, and Davidson, Helen H. Sibling Resemblances in Social Attitudes, 133.
- Latin Upon Character Traits, The Effect of the Study of. By Eliza-beth B. Meek, 241.
- Leisure, Planning the Curriculum for. By Henry Harap, 308.
- Leisure-Time Social Backgrounds in a Suburban Community. By John F. Fox, 493.
- Leisure, Vocational Education for. By Franklin J. Keller, 464.
- Literature, Recent, 397.
- Lomas, Paul S. Commercial Voca-tional Education, 442.
- Long, Forrest E. The High School in Competition, 575.
- Lublinsky, Paul. Social Backgrounds of School Children in Soviet Rus-sia, 485.
- McClenathan, Ruth H. Teachers and Parents Study Children's Behav-iours, 325.
- Measuring Tools. The Reliability and Validity of Estimates (Ratings) as. By James C. Swab and Charles C. Peters, 224.
- Meek, Elizabeth B. The Effect of the Study of Latin Upon Char-acter Traits, 241.
- Mehus, O. Myking. The Introductory Course in Sociology in the State Teachers Colleges, 43.
- Meredith, Lois A. Teachers' Person-alities and the Problems of Chil-dren, 387.
- Meriam, Junius L. Editorial, 277.



- Meroney, W. P. The Use of Text-books in the Introductory Course in Sociology, 54.
- Merrill, Robert R., and Eichler, George A. Can Social Leadership be Improved by Instruction in Its Technique? 233.
- Milson, Alice K. The Teaching of Courtesy in the Junior High School, 249.
- Milton, Pature as Informal Education, The. By Paul G. Cressey, 504.
- Motom, Jennie B. The Tuskegee Program for the Training of Women, 184.
- Moton, Robert R. The Scope and Aim of Tuskegee Institute, 151.
- Myers, Alonzo F. Education of Teachers for the Schools of Tomorrow, 569.
- Negro Colleges and Universities, The Introductory Course in Sociology in. By Bertram W. Doyle, 30.
- Negro Education: See Robert R. Motom; Alphonse Henningburg; William A. Clark; W. T. B. Williams; Russell C. Atkins; Jennie B. Motom; T. M. Campbell; Monroe N. Work.
- Neumann, George B. Educational Values: Whence and Whither, 97.
- North, Cecil C. The Problem of the Introductory Course in Sociology, 1.
- . Summary of Findings on the Present Status of the Introductory Course in Sociology, and Conclusions, 68.
- Oral Instruction, Workbook Versus. By Elmer W. Cressman, 250.
- Payne, E. George. Editorial, 149.
- Peters, Charles C. Editorial, 213.
- . The Potency of Instruction in Character Education, 214.
- . Some Techniques for the Quantitative Study of Values of Learnings, 87.
- . Summary of the Penn State Experiments on the Influence of Instruction in Character Education, 269.
- , and Swab, James C. The Reliability and Validity of Estimates (Ratings) as Measuring Tools, 224.
- Pickett, Ralph E. Editorial, 405.
- Predelinquent School Children of Ten Midwestern Cities, A Survey of. By Herbert D. Williams, 365.
- Problem Child in the Jersey City Elementary Schools, The. By Louise May Snyder, 343.
- Problem and Nonproblem Children in a Public-School System, Measured Differences Between. By Mildred L. Fisher, 353.
- Problem of the Introductory Course in Sociology, The. By Cecil C. North, 1.
- Problems of Children, Teachers' Personalities and the. By Lois A. Meredith, 387.
- Professional Education. By William P. Sears, Jr., 430.
- Public Schools Can Do For Workers in Industry, What. By Arthur H. Carver, 280.
- Reinhardt, James M., and Gettys, Warner E. The Introductory Course in Sociology in State Universities and Large Endowed Universities of the West, Middle West, and South, 12.
- Research Projects and Methods in Educational Sociology, 141, 206, 321, 399.
- Robb, E. K., and Faust, J. F. The Effect of Direct Instruction, 237.
- , Kniss, F. R., and Glatfelter, E. A. The Results of the Incidental Method of Instruction in Character Education, 259.
- Schaper, Florence W. The Introductory Course in Sociology in the Colleges for Women in the West, Middle West, and South, 37.
- Sears, William P., Jr. Professional Education, 430.
- Sheehan, Joseph M. Industrial Education, 436.
- Siegel, Morris E. Adult Education, 424.
- Snedden, David E. Editorial, 85.
- . Some Sociological Foundations, 420.
- . The Valuing of Learnings, 105.
- Snyder, Louise May. The Problem Child in the Jersey City Elementary Schools, 343.
- Social Attitudes, Sibling Resemblance in. By Daniel H. Kulp, II, and Helen H. Davidson, 133.
- Social Backgrounds and Informal Education. By Frederic M. Thrasher, 470.
- Social Backgrounds of School Children in Soviet Russia. By Paul Lublinsky, 485.
- Social-Economic Situation and the New Education, Our. Committee Report, 533.

- Social Leadership Be Improved by Instruction in its Technique, Can? By George A. Eichler and Robert R. Merrill, 233.
- Sociological Foundations, Some. By David Snedden, 420.
- Sociology, Introductory Course in: See Henry Pratt Fairchild; James M. Reinhardt and Warner E. Gettys; L. E. Garwood; Valeria K. Huppeler; Bertram W. Doyle; Florence W. Schaper; Myking Melus; Fred R. Yoder; Cecil C. North; W. P. Meroney; Summary of Findings on Present Status, 68; Recommendations of the Committee, 78.
- Stevenson, J. Ritchie. The Continuation Schools, 447.
- Stover, G. E., and Campbell, Don W. Teaching International-Mindedness in the Social Studies, 244.
- Strickler, Fred. A Discussion of Criteria or Standards of Educational Value with Special Reference to Woodworking, 117.
- Swab, James C., and Peters, Charles C. The Reliability and Validity of Estimates (Ratings) as Measuring Tools, 224.
- Teachers and Parents Study Children's Behaviors. By Ruth H. McClenathan, 325.
- Techniques for the Quantitative Study of Values of Learnings, Some. By Charles C. Peters, 87.
- Textbooks in the Introductory Course in Sociology, The Use of. By W. P. Meroney, 54.
- Thrasher, Frederic M. Editorial, 469.
- . Social Backgrounds and Informal Education, 470.
- Tippett, James S. A Curriculum for Children at Home, 299.
- Trolan, Helen. The Activity Program in the Newark Schools from a Menial-Hygiene Point of View, 379.
- Tuskegee Institute. See Negro Education.
- Values, Educational: See Charles C. Peters; George B. Neumann; David Snedden; Fred Strickler; Earle L. Hunter; Daniel H. Kulp, II, and Helen H. Davidson.
- Van Liew, Marion S. Homemaking Education, 439.
- Vocational Education: See J. C. Wright; Robert O. Beebe; Harold G. Campbell; David Snedden; Morris E. Siegel; William P. Sears, Jr.; Joseph M. Sherban; Marion S. Van Liew; Paul S. Donax; J. Ritchie Stevenson; Garson K. Wagar; Ronald W. Kent; Layton S. Hawkins; Franklin J. Keller.
- Vocational Program for Men, Tuskegee's. By Russell C. Atkins, 175.
- Women, The Tuskegee Program for the Training of. By Jennie B. Moton, 184.
- Wagar, Garson K. Industrial-Arts Education, 452.
- Watson, Goodwin. College Education in the New America, 503.
- Weissenfluh, L. A., Hackenberg, J. L., and Yeich, E. B. The Effect of Athletics on Certain Character Studies, 264.
- Williams, Herbert D. A Survey of Predelinquent School Children of Ten Midwestern Cities, 365.
- Wilham, W. T. B. Is Tuskegee Just Another College? 170.
- Withers, John W. What's Ahead in American Education?
- Work, Monroe N. Tuskegee Institute More than an Educational Institution, 197.
- Workbook Versus Oral Instruction. By Elmer W. Cressman, 250.
- Wright, J. C. Vocational Education: From the Federal Standpoint, 408.
- Yeich, E. B., Hackenberg, J. L., and Weissenfluh, L. A. The Effect of Athletics on Certain Character Studies, 264.
- Yoder, Fred R. The Introductory Course in Sociology in the Separate Land-Grant Colleges and Colleges of Agriculture in the State Universities, 48.
- Zorbaugh, Geraldine, and Zorbaugh, Harvey. History's Dilemma in the Modern World, 584.
- Zorbaugh, Harvey W. Editorial, 341.
- , and Zorbaugh, Geraldine. History's Dilemma in the Modern World, 584.

